

# The Column and Coinage of C. Duilius: Innovations in Iconography in Large and Small Media in the Middle Republic\*

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Gaius Duilius, *cos.* 260, was only the second member of an obscure plebeian *gens* to hold a consulship, 76 years after the first consul Duilius; he cannot, therefore, be accounted a *novus homo*.<sup>1</sup> But he did establish himself as a *primus homo*, a man of firsts

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Bibliographical abbreviations to be used throughout — aside from the better-known standard abbreviations, e.g., *CAH*, *CIL*, *ILLRP*, *ILS* and *RE* — are as follows:

*CMURR* = M.H. Crawford, *Coinage and Money under the Roman Republic: Italy & the Mediterranean Economy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1985)

*Inscr. Ital.* 13 = A. Degrassi (ed.), *Inscriptiones Italiae* 13. Fasc. 1, 'Fasti Consulares et Triumphales' (Rome 1947); Fasc. 2, 'Fasti Anni Numani et Iuliani' (Rome 1963); and Fasc. 3, 'Elogia' (Rome 1937)

*LTUR* = E.M. Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* I-VI (Rome 1993-2001)

*MAR* = L. Haselberger & D.G. Romano (eds.), *Mapping Augustan Rome* (Portsmouth 2002)

*MRR* = T.R.S. Broughton, *The Magistrates of the Roman Republic* I-III (New York 1951-1986)

*NTDAR* = L. Richardson, jr. *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Baltimore 1992)

*RIC I*<sup>2</sup> = C.H.V. Sutherland, *The Roman Imperial Coinage I: From 31 B.C. to A.D. 69*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (London 1984)

*RRC* = M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coinage* (Cambridge 1974)

*RRCH* = M.H. Crawford, *Roman Republican Coin Hoards* (London 1969)

*TDAR* = S. Platner and T. Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford 1929)

<sup>1</sup> K. Duilius (*RE* 5), *cos.* 336 with L. Papirius L. f. L. n. Crassus (*RE* 45), *cos. iter.* 330. Gaius Duilius may, however, have been the first consul in his direct line. *MRR* II, 560-561, s.v., 'Index of Careers', lists eight Duillii, of whom only two, Kaeso and Gaius, held consulships (another Duilius held a decemvirate in 450-449); the rest were *tribuni plebis* or *Vvir mensarii*. See also *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1.69, p. 43. Gaius' year of birth, ca. 310-300, and his filiation M. f. M. n. indicate a probable line of descent from M. Duilius, *tr. pl.* 357, a grandfather or great-grandfather. Kaeso Duilius (*cos.* 336) may be a younger brother or older son of the tribune of 357; in either case, he does not appear old enough to have been Gaius' great-

and innovations: a fortuitous concatenation of Roman adaptability and innovation along with Punic miscalculation brought Duilius several brilliant successes, including the first-ever victory in a major sea battle against the Carthaginian navy.<sup>2</sup> Duilius' unique status as the first Roman to win a sea battle and, consequently, the first to celebrate a naval triumph was repeatedly emphasized by the type of honors accorded him and by the *beneficia* he bestowed upon the Roman people.<sup>3</sup> For instance, in commemoration of his singular victory, he was the first Roman honored with a *columna rostrata*, an honorary column decorated with bronze *rostra*, or rams from captured ships.<sup>4</sup> The base of this column was inscribed with an *elogium* that recounted in detail Duilius' innovative deeds and subsequent benefactions.<sup>5</sup> Among these benefactions, the inscription claims, was the

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grandfather, so his connection is probably avuncular. Interestingly, J.F. Lazenby, *The First Punic War* (Stanford 1996) 72, does consider Duilius a *novus homo*.

<sup>2</sup> Polyb. 1.23-25; Frontin. *Strat.* 2.3.24; cf. note 9 below.

<sup>3</sup> Liv. *Per.* 17; *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 77: C. DVILIVS M. F. M. N. COS. PRIMVS NAVALEM DE SICVL. ET CLASSE POENICA EGIT K. INTERKALAR. AN. CDXCIII; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2.49.

<sup>4</sup> Plin. *NH* 34.20; Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 6.663-669; Quintil. 1.7.12; Serv. *ad Georg.* 3.29; cf. the Augustan *elogium* C. Duilii in *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.13, pp. 20-1, reproduced with some additional restorations in n. 40 below, locating it *prope aream Volcanam*. For a convenient summary of work on the column in the Forum and its bibliography, see *LTUR* I, 309, s.v. 'Columna Rostrata C. Duilii (1)' (L. Chioffi); see also *TDAR* 134, s.v. 'Columna Rostrata C. Duilii' (second entry); and *NTDAR* 97, s.v. 'Columna Rostrata C. Duilii (2)', which confusingly locates the column first on the Rostra, then has it moved to the Forum based on Serv. *ad Georg.* 3.29, whose mention of the column *in rostris* may relate to its later location, if indeed it was moved with other columns in the late-3<sup>rd</sup> century CE reorganization of the Forum (*contra* this, see Chioffi, *loc. cit.*); M. Jordan-Ruwe, *Das Säulenmonument. Zur Geschichte der erhöhten Aufstellung antiker Portraitstatuen* (Bonn 1995) 59-65; M. Sehlmeier, *Stadtrömische Ehrenstatuen der republikanischen Zeit* (Stuttgart 1999) 117-19. See in particular L. Pietilä-Castren, *Magnificentia Publica: The Victory Monuments of the Roman Generals in the Era of the Punic Wars* (Helsinki 1987) 28-32, discussing Duilius' manubial monuments in a historical context. For a possible second column, mentioned only by Servius (*ad Georg.* 3.29) and modern responses to his assertion, see note 19 below. The *Columna Maenia*, also discussed below, commemorated (among other things) the Roman's seizure of the Antiate fleet after their victory over the Latins in 338 (Liv. 8.14.8, 12; Plin *NH* 34.20), but was not decorated with *rostra*. See most recently Sehlmeier, *op. cit.*, 53-7; Jordan-Ruwe, *op. cit.*, 55-6; *NTDAR* 94-5, s.v. 'Columna Maenia'; and F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano II: Periodo Repubblicano e Augusteo* (Rome 1985) 38-53.

<sup>5</sup> *Elogium* C. Duilii: only highlights of this inscription's lengthy bibliography are given: *CIL* I<sup>2</sup>.1.25 (ed. Lommatzsch, cf. pp. 718, 739, 831); *CIL* 6.1300 (cf. 31591, 37040); Wölfflin, *Sitzungsber. Akad.* (Munich 1890) I.293ff.; *ILS* 65; *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.69; *ILLRP* 319 (add. p. 325). A thorough discussion with full bibliography can be found in A.E. Gordon, *Illustrated Introduction to Latin Epigraphy* (Berkeley 1983) 124-7, s.v. no. 48 'Elogium of Gaius Duilius'; and more recently, R. Wachter, *Altlateinische Inschriften. Sprachliche und epigraphische Untersuchungen zu den Dokumenten bis etwa 150 v.Chr.* (Frankfurt 1987) 359-61.

first-ever gift or distribution to the populace of ‘naval booty’.<sup>6</sup> The unusual nature of this distribution, both in kind and in purpose, was made even more unusual by yet another innovation: the first issue of *aes signatum* (massive bronze ingots representing, by weight, multiples of the Roman *as*) to bear naval and religious imagery in combinations heretofore unused in the Roman repertoire. This last ‘first’ may be adduced from a series of apparent linkages between Duilius’ naval achievement, the innovation of adding *rostra* to an honorific column, the inscription’s claims about his distribution of naval booty, the possible reasons behind the distribution (and possible reaction to it), and the relative date of, and imagery on, the *aes signatum*. Taken together, the evidence strongly suggests that Duilius was, perhaps, the first person to use a form of Roman coinage as a sophisticated vehicle for self-promotion, more than a century before the traditional date assigned to the inception of such a practice.<sup>7</sup> Before offering a new interpretation of the meaning and context of the coinage in question, however, the evidence must be examined.

### Duilius’ Achievements as Consul

Nothing is known about Duilius’ career until he appears in the sources *ex nihilo* in his consular year, the fifth of the First Punic War. Even the nature of his assigned *provincia* is uncertain. Polybius claims Duilius was at first assigned land-based operations in western Sicily, then took over naval operations when co-consul and naval commander Cn. Cornelius Scipio was seized and imprisoned during a parlay with the enemy at the Lipari Islands.<sup>8</sup> Conversely, Zonaras avers that the senate assigned the fleet to Duilius and the land forces in Sicily to Scipio, who ignored his assignment in favor of a naval adventure that ended in his embarrassing capture.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.69, line 17: [TRIVMP]OQVE NAVALED PRAEDAD POPLOM [DONAVET]. For an important study on booty and how it was used or distributed, see I. Shatzman, ‘The Roman General’s Authority over Booty’, *Historia* 21 (1972) 177-205.

<sup>7</sup> The common orthodoxy that Roman coins first became vehicles for the monumentalization and commemoration of personal or family achievements in the 130s BCE has been reiterated recently by A. Meadows and J. Williams in ‘Moneta and the Monuments: Coinage and Politics in Republican Rome’, *JRS* 91 (2001) 27-49. To be fair, their position is sound. The coinage discussed in this paper is clearly an exception whose precedent was not followed; besides, as a special issue for Duilius’ triumph, it does not fall into the same category as regular, state-issued coinage.

<sup>8</sup> Polyb. 1.22.1-2; cf. 1.21.4-11 for Cn. Cornelius L. f. Cn. n. Scipio Asina, who was, *n.b.*, brother to Duilius’ co-censor, L. Cornelius L. f. Cn. n. Scipio. This apparent link with the Corneli Scipiones is worth noting. Note also that Liv. *Per.* 17, Flor. 1.18.11 and Oros. 4.7.9 follow the Polybian version of Asina’s capture by fraud. Lazenby, *op. cit.* (n. 1), 66-7 and n. 16, follows J.H. Thiel, *A History of Roman Sea-power before the Second Punic War* (Amsterdam 1954) 181, in thinking that Polybius’ version of Scipio Asina’s adventure was put about by Scipio himself as a cover for his ineptitude. He also firmly rejects the fables of Scipio’s death retailed by Florus (1.18.11) and Orosius (4.7.9: *in vinculis necatus est*), since Scipio was consul again in 254-3 and thus returned, perhaps in a prisoner exchange (cf. Liv. 22.23.6).

<sup>9</sup> Zonar. 8.10; Scipio’s *cognomen* ‘Asina’ (she-ass) apparently derives from this event. B. Bleckmann theorizes in his forthcoming book on the First Punic War that Polybius changed

In either case, it was under Duilius' command that a new Roman fleet of 120 ships was reputedly built in a remarkably short space of time: 60 days from the felling of the trees to the launching of the ships.<sup>10</sup> While such an achievement appears on the surface to be an exaggeration, recent discoveries of contemporary ships whose timbers were clearly numbered demonstrate that large numbers of vessels could be assembled from prefabricated parts in a relatively short span of time, given the funds and manpower.<sup>11</sup> But because they were constructed from green lumber, the ships proved slow and unwieldy, an added difficulty for Romans already far less adept than their enemies in naval maneuvers.<sup>12</sup> To compensate for the ships' lack of maneuverability, they were outfitted with a new device: the *corvus* or 'raven', a thirty-six foot long, four-foot wide mobile gangplank with a large iron spike at the far end.<sup>13</sup> Any Roman ship having closed

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the initial assignments of *provinciae* to put Scipio Asina in a more favorable light. Most scholars, however, prefer Polybius' evidence, and accept his assertion that the senate initially charged Scipio with commanding the fleet.

<sup>10</sup> Duilius' shipwrights were celebrated for having completed construction of 120 quinquiremes and launching them just 60 days after felling the lumber to build them: Plin. *NH* 16.192: *mirum apud antiquos primo Punico bello classem Duilli imperatoris ab arbore LX die navigasse...*; cf. Flor. 1.18.7 for an especially laudatory account; Oros. 4.7.8.

<sup>11</sup> Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), 28-9, following G. De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani* III<sup>2</sup> (1967) 1.122-3, feels that this account is probably idealized, as the Romans likely received some of their ships from allies in South Italy. More recently, Lazenby, op. cit. (n. 1), 64 and n. 7, refutes such skepticism by pointing out that the recent find of the remains of a Carthaginian ship off the coast of Sicily revealed that such ships were prefabricated and mass-produced, as indicated by the numbering system found carved into the actual timbers (for which see H. Frost, A.E. Werner and W.A. Oddy, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* 26 [1972] 651ff., and H. Frost, *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 1 [1972] 113ff.). For recent, detailed discussions on the building and manning of this fleet, including relevant bibliographies, see Lazenby, op. cit. (n. 1), 63-6 and A. Goldsworthy, *The Punic Wars* (London 2000) 100-6.

<sup>12</sup> On the unwieldiness of the heavy ships: Polyb. 1.22.3; Frontin. *Strat.* 2.3.24; Zonar. 8.11. That they were built from lumber felled in the newly-acquired, forest-rich mountain district of Sila in Bruttium seems certain (cf. Dion. 20.15.1); see *CMURR* 42 for Crawford's contention that a special Romano-Cosan issue of coinage from this period may indicate the fleet was built and the sailors trained at or near Cosa.

<sup>13</sup> Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), 28 and n. 7 follows the suggestion of Münzer *RE* (5), 1779, that the *corvus* was a Sicilian invention adopted by the Romans; cf. De Sanctis, op. cit. (n. 11), 1.125; Thiel, op. cit. (n. 8), 183, n. 381 suggests Archimedes as the possible inventor. In any case, Polybius (1.22.3) indicates that the idea was suggested to the Romans by an unidentified party; only later authors credit Duilius himself with this invention (e.g., Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 38; Zonar. 8.11). But cf. also n. 40 below for the reconstruction of Duilius' *elogium* from the Forum Augusti, which could indicate that the tradition was fairly early. It is also worth noting that Polybius (1.23.1) only relates Duilius' assumption of the naval command *after* describing the *corvus* (1.22.3-11), thus creating the impression that Scipio Asina ordered it to be attached to the ships before his capture, and was therefore directly responsible for Duilius' success. Frankly, a comparison of the *corvus* to the contraptions used by the Romans against Pyrrhus' elephants — wagons with tall poles to which were attached rotating, transverse poles with blades, grappling irons, or pitch-covered torches which could be turned in any direction to strike the elephants — may indicate that the Romans simply

with an enemy vessel with grappling hooks could maneuver the *corvus*, attached to a large pole in the ship's deck, into position and drop it with great force across the enemy ship's bulwarks, ramming the spike deep into its deck; the resulting gangway, equipped with knee-high side-rails, was then used by Roman soldiers to board the ensnared enemy vessel.<sup>14</sup>

The *corvus* famously converted naval warfare into infantry battle at sea, and Duilius won a stunning victory at Mylae. There he captured Hannibal's flagship, a gigantic septireme that had once belonged to Pyrrhus of Epirus, and thirty other ships ranging from quinquiremes to triremes; the Romans also sank more than a dozen enemy vessels, took 7,000 prisoners and acquired a great deal of spoil.<sup>15</sup> Also in this campaign, though perhaps before his success at Mylae, Duilius used a series of clever naval stratagems in tandem with his land-based army to raise the siege of Segesta and seize Macella.<sup>16</sup>

Returning to Rome at the end of the summer campaign season, Duilius prepared to celebrate his successes in Rome's first-ever naval triumph, held at year's end on the Kalends of an intercalary month.<sup>17</sup> He may also have dedicated spoils and a sacrifice to

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converted a device already used in land battles into one for sea battles (Dion. 20.1.6-7, 20.2.4-5).

- <sup>14</sup> Polyb. 1.22 describes the construction and operation of the *corvus* in detail; Frontin. *Strat.* 2.3.24. notes only the use of grappling hooks (*manus ferreas*, or 'iron hands') to first close with a ship. For a plausible, working reconstruction of the *corvus*, see H.T. Wallinga, *The Boarding Bridge of the Romans* (Groningen 1956) pl. I, reproduced also in *CAH* VII.2<sup>2</sup> (1989) 551 as fig. 59; or more recently, Lazenby, op. cit. (n. 1), 68-9 and fig. 5.1.
- <sup>15</sup> Polyb. 1.23.2-10, noting 30 ships captured plus approximately 20 sunk, and *id.* 1.23.4 for Pyrrhus' ship; Liv. *Per.* 17; Eutrop. 2.20 and Oros. 4.7.10 both note 31 ships captured, but offer 14 and 13 respectively as the tally of ships sunk. They also note 7,000 prisoners taken and 3,000 of the enemy killed. Zonar. 8.11 notes both the flagship and the large amount of spoil taken (... καὶ λάφυρα πολλά ἐλήφθη). Regarding Polybius' emphasis on Roman use of the *corvus*, cf. M. Sordi, 'I corvi di Duilio e la giustificazione Cartaginese della battaglia di Milazzo', *RFIC* 95 (1967) 260-8. Sordi argues that Polybius' (1.23ff.) insistence on the Romans' new boarding technique as the primary reason for their victory, while the *elogium* C. *Duili* ignores it, proves that Polybius' source is Philinos of Agrigentum's pro-Carthaginian account: for only by emphasizing that the *corvus* transformed naval combat into a land battle can the Roman victory over the Carthaginians be explained. Yet few, if any, *elogia* ever included such technical details. See Diod. 23.10.1; Dio 11. 16-17; and Zonar. 8.11 for Hannibal's self-justification before the Carthaginian senate.
- <sup>16</sup> Polyb. 1.24.1-2; Frontin. *Strat.* 1.5.6, 2.3.24, 3.2.2; Zonar. 8.11 refers only to Segesta; cf. *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.69, lines 1-5, which mention Segesta and Macella before Mylae, just as the *Fasti Triumphales* order Duilius' victories as *de Sicul(eis) et classe Poenica* (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.1, 77). This has led F.W. Walbank, *A Historical Commentary on Polybius I* (Oxford 1957) 80, De Sanctis, op. cit. (n. 11), 1.122-123, and Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), 29, n. 10, to hold that the battle of Mylae indeed followed these other actions; but *contra*, see Münzer *RE* (5), 1780, and Thiel, op. cit. (n. 8), 187-9, who argues that Romans simply recounted victories in order of the formulaic *terra marique*. Lazenby, op. cit. (n. 1), 68 also inclines towards Polybius' arrangement.
- <sup>17</sup> Duilius' return at the end of summer: Zonar. 8.11. For his triumph, cf. note 3 *supra*. Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), 29 believes he had to rush home for the consular elections. There is no evidence, however, that the elections for this year were held any earlier than normal. Indeed, down to the 150s they were often held in January, February or March. For instance,

Mars in fulfillment of a vow.<sup>18</sup> According to the inscription from his *columna rostrata*, he distributed ‘naval booty’ to the populace at his triumph.<sup>19</sup> In return for this benefaction (discussed in detail below), the people bestowed upon Duilius — apparently by plebiscite and at public expense — the permanent honor of returning home at night from banquets with the accompaniment of a flute-player and a wax-torch bearer, as if he were always triumphing.<sup>20</sup> In addition to this honor, the senate and people of Rome ordered the previously mentioned rostral column erected in the Forum in his honor.<sup>21</sup> As a permanent memorial to his victory Duilius built a temple to Janus *ex manubiis* in the Forum Holitorium, likely in fulfillment of a vow; he perhaps dedicated it himself in 258 when he was censor.<sup>22</sup> Finally, it must also be mentioned that there is one late, much-

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the consuls of 201 were elected well after 15 March 201 (Liv. 30.39.4-5), albeit due to storms; the elections for 199 took place in January or February (Liv. 32.1.1); the consular elections for 187 took place in mid-February (Liv. 38.42.2); those for 186 were held after 20 Dec. 187 (Liv. 39.5.13, 6.1); those for 178 were held after March 7 (Liv. 40.59.5); and those for 169 were held on 26 Jan. (Liv. 43.11.6).

<sup>18</sup> Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 6.663-9.

<sup>19</sup> *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.69, line 17; see below for discussion of the distribution.

<sup>20</sup> This particular honor figures prominently among ancient references to Duilius, for which see Cic. *Sen.* 44; Liv. *Per.* 17; Val. Max. 3.6.4; Flor. 1.18.10; Ammian. 36.3.5; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 38; and the Augustan *Elogium C. Duilii*, in *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.13, pp. 20-1, reproduced with additional restorations in note 40 below. That a plebiscite, whether *ex-SC* or not, ratified these honors seems indicated by the language of Duilius’ Augustan *elogium*: H]VIC PERMISSVM EST V[T AB E]PVLIS DOMVM | [CVM TIBICI]NE E[T F]VNALI REDIRET. Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 38 also indicates the possibility of an official act in this regard, adding that these honors were provided at public expense: *Duillio concessum est, ut praelucente funali et praecinente tibicine a cena publice rediret*. For other *ex-SC* public honors enacted by plebiscite cf. Liv. 39.19.3ff., which mentions a senate decree naming various honors for Aebutius to be ratified by the plebs in 186. Strangely, Florus (1.18.10) implies that Duilius ordered these honors for himself because he was ‘not content with one day of triumph’ (*non contentus unius die triumphis per vitam omnem, ubi a cena rediret, praelucere funalia et praecinere sibi tibias iussit, quasi cotidie triumpharet*); likewise, Ammianus (36.3.5) claims Duilius assumed these honors for himself (*sibi sumpsisse*) to draw public admiration; and Valerius Maximus (3.6.4) includes him in a section on illustrious men ‘who indulged themselves in dress or other style more freely than custom permitted’ (*qui ex illustribus viris in veste aut cetero cultu licentius sibi quam mos patrius permittebat indulgerunt*). Clearly, ancient opinion about Duilius was mixed; Wachter, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 361 goes so far as to postulate that Duilius’ inscription was damaged in some sort of *damnatio memoriae* (to account for the numerous inconsistencies in the Augustan-era restoration of his *elogium* in the Forum [*Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.69] as discussed below), but does so without reference to the literary tradition noted here.

<sup>21</sup> See note 4 above, for ancient references and modern bibliography for the column in the Forum. Sehlmeier, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 117-19 rightly points out that the phrasing of the Augustan *elogium* (reproduced in full in note 40 below) — H]VIC PERMISSVM EST... [COLVMNA] PR[OPE A]REAM VVLC[ANI P]JOS[I]T[A] — proves that the senate and people ordered the construction of the column in the Forum, as the inscription would have said *POSVIT* if Duilius himself had erected it.

<sup>22</sup> Tac. *Ann.* 2.49. For recent work on the temple see: MAR 148, s.v. ‘Janus Aedes’ (D. Borbonus); *LTUR* III, 90-1, s.v. ‘Janus, Aedes’ (F. Coarelli); A. Ziolkowski, *The Temples of*

debated reference to an additional rostral column erected by Duilius at his own expense near the gates of the Circus Maximus.<sup>23</sup> But since its very existence is in doubt, it will not figure in the ensuing discussion.

### Duilius' Rostral Column

The installation of honorific statues on columns was not a new fashion in Rome, having existed there for at least several generations (although it was a rarity thus far for the Forum).<sup>24</sup> Indeed, such monuments were simply a variation on the practice of setting up honorific statues, a practice whose antecedents, Sehlmeier argues, can now be traced at least back to Mid-Italic models, particularly the monumental 6<sup>th</sup>/5<sup>th</sup> century Capestrano Warrior with its pre-Sabellian *titulus*; he also notes possibly influential Greek antecedents from Magna Graecia and Athens, the latter of which had commemorative statues of historical personages as early as the late 6<sup>th</sup> century in the Agora (viz., the tyrannicides Harmodios and Aristogeiton).<sup>25</sup> But the Roman impulse to honor living leaders with public monuments and statues apparently began in earnest in the mid-4<sup>th</sup> century, as characterized by the monumentalization of civic spaces in the Forum following Rome's victory over the Latin League.<sup>26</sup> In the following generation, numerous commemorative,

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*Mid-Republican Rome and their Historical and Topographical Context* (Rome 1992) 61-2; Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), 32-4, who suggests that Duilius dedicated the temple in his censorship; and L. Crozzoli Aite, *I tre temple del Foro Holitorio* in *MemPontAcc* 13 (1981).

<sup>23</sup> Servius (*ad Georg.* 3.29) claims Duilius set up two rostral columns on his own initiative, one in *Rostris* in the Forum, and another near the entrance to the Circus Maximus: [*Columnas*] *rostratas Duilius posuit victis Poenis navali certamine, e quibus unam in Rostris, alteram ante circum videmus a parte ianuarum.* Recent opinions on this statement are varied: Richardson, *NTDAR* 97, s.v. 'Columna Rostrata C. Duilii (1)', follows Platner-Ashby, *TDAR* 134, s.v. 'Columna Rostrata C. Duilii' (first entry), in accepting Servius' statement at face value; Chioffi, *LTUR* I, 309, s.v. 'Columna Rostrata C. Duilii (2)' gives this second column a very short notice indicating doubt; Jordan-Ruwe, op. cit. (n. 4), 64f., thinks Servius was affected by the commonness of statue groups in his own era, while Sehlmeier, op. cit. (n. 4), 119 and n. 60 states simply that 'Die Authentizität einer Kopie der Säule vor einem Circus ist nicht sicher, da wir nur eine Quelle haben, nämlich Servius', and notes that the commonality of statue groups is no vouchsafe for similar groups of columns. Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), 30, however, accepts the possible existence of the second column based on Servius' apparent claim to be an eyewitness (*videmus*) to the column, but notes that it must have been erected by Duilius himself, as opposed to the column in the Forum which was erected *a populo* according to Plin. *NH.* 34.20-21 and the Augustan *elogium*. It may be worth noting that a storm overturned a number of columns with their statues at the Circus Maximus in 182 BCE (*Obseq.* 4; Liv. 40.2.1-4), which at least supports that location as traditional for such monuments.

<sup>24</sup> Pliny (*NH* 34.23, 27) attributes the first statues on columns to the Regal period; cf. *NH* 34.20-33 in general for his discussion of the history of honorary statues in Rome.

<sup>25</sup> Sehlmeier, op. cit. (n. 4), 20-7 for antecedents.

<sup>26</sup> For an archaeological survey of such statues, see G. Lahusen, *Untersuchungen zur Ehrenstatue in Rom. Literarische und epigraphische Zeugnisse* (Rome 1983). Also fundamental is T. Hölscher's 'Die Anfänge römischer Repräsentationskunst' in *RM* 85 (1978) 315-57, arguing that Roman official art began in the Middle Republic (ca. 338 BCE), impelled by important shifts in Roman politics resulting from the new era of expansion fol-

contemporary statues of Rome's great were set up by order of the senate and people in the Forum, including equestrian statues of the consuls of 338 who defeated the Latins, and the consul of 306 who triumphed over the Hernici and Anagnini.<sup>27</sup>

There was also, of course, a reciprocal impulse whereby men honored with a triumph subsequently built temples or other monuments *ex manubiis* to represent the increased greatness and glory of Rome — enhanced through their own *virtus* in action — in visual terms that recalled their particular achievement, such as the monumental bronze statue of Jupiter created from Samnite armor captured by Sp. Carvilius, with its accompanying, much smaller bronze statue of Carvilius himself, made from the same material.<sup>28</sup> Hölkeskamp contextualizes this impulse as a manifestation of one aspect among many of the vigorous, ongoing competition for status and popular affirmation among the emerging class of patricio-plebeian *nobiles*, a competition that truly got underway once it was established in 342 that at least one consulship would always be held by a plebeian.<sup>29</sup> An important corollary, he notes, is that plebeian triumphators were responsible for most of the innovative manubial monuments established in the two generations before Duilius.<sup>30</sup> Thus, Duilius' innovative achievements (and honors), and the innovative way in which he advertised them, may be considered as part and parcel of this larger, continuing trend.

As for Duilius' column, inscriptional evidence testifies to its location *prope aream Vulcanam*. This would place it on the northwest corner of the Forum Romanum, near Vulcan's altar at the foot of the Capitoline Hill, overlooking the Rostra, Comitium and

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lowing the defeat of the Latin League, and the rise of the Roman *nobilitas*. Several new genres of civic display developed in this milieu, notably the public display of *spolia*, paintings depicting important geographical locations or historical events, honorific statues and coinage. See also Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), 31 and n. 25; K.-J. Hölkeskamp, 'Conquest, Competition and Consensus: Roman Expansion in Italy and the Rise of the Nobilitas', *Historia* 42 (1993) 12-39, esp. 27-9; and H. Flower, *Ancestor Masks and Aristocratic Power in Roman Culture* (Oxford 1996) 70-9. On the monumentalization of the Comitium and Forum at this time, see for instance, *LTUR* II, 308-14, s.v. 'Comitium' (F. Coarelli); *NTDAR* 97-8, s.v. 'Comitium'; more generally, *LTUR* II, 325-36, s.v. 'The Forum Romanum (The Republican Period)' (N. Purcell), esp. p. 327 where Purcell relates the changes of 338 to the Licinian-Sextian legislation of 366, a whole generation earlier; A.J. Ammerman, 'On the Origins of the Forum Romanum', *AJA* 94 (1990) 627-45; and Coarelli, op. cit. (n. 4), 22ff.

<sup>27</sup> See Sehlmeier, op. cit. (n. 4), 45-109 for Rome ca. 338-285. He notes that the period characterized by commemorative, contemporary statues of Rome's great defenders was followed by a trend to put up statues of characters either mythic or legendary to whom only Romans could relate, and through which they could develop a stronger sense of community. For Sehlmeier, therefore, the return to statues of triumphators marked something of a regression to past practice, of which the Duilius monument is exemplary.

<sup>28</sup> Plin. *NH* 34.43; Hölscher, op. cit. (n. 26), 323f.; Hölkeskamp, op. cit. (n. 26), 28; Sehlmeier, op. cit. (n. 4), 113-16; *LTUR* IV, 363, s.v. 'Statua Colossea: Iuppiter (1)' (L. Papi).

<sup>29</sup> Hölkeskamp, op. cit. (n. 26), 23ff.; cf. p. 30, where he points out that the meritocratic ideology of the nobles involved self-definition and legitimization through 'lifelong dedication to the *res publica* alone' and in reciprocation, the bestowal of various *honores* (offices and honors for achievement) by the *populus*, 'because popular participation was part and parcel of the institutional, social and ideological framework which this élite dominated and defined'.

<sup>30</sup> Hölkeskamp, op. cit. (n. 26), 26-9.



Curia to the north-northeast, and the Sacra Via — the triumphal route — to the south.<sup>31</sup> The column itself was likely made of tufa, a typical Middle Republic building material. Bronze rams taken from ships captured at Mylae were mounted in sockets cut into the column's shaft; the rams thus suspended were probably from the smallest triremes, so they would not weigh more than several hundred kilograms each.<sup>32</sup> To complete the visual commemoration of Rome's first naval *triumphator*, a bronze statue of Duilius in military or triumphal costume was placed atop the column's capital.<sup>33</sup> If the *columna rostrata Octaviani* depicted on coins of 29-27 BCE (fig. 1) is acceptable as a direct imitation of Duilius' column, then anchors from enemy ships may also have been attached to the column.<sup>34</sup>

Of particular importance in contextualizing Duilius' column is its direct precursor and close neighbor, the *columna Maenia*, erected in 338 in the Forum near the Comitium to commemorate Rome's victory over Antium. The column was unadorned except for a statue of the consul C. Maenius.<sup>35</sup> The statue of Maenius would have depicted the consul

<sup>31</sup> *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.13, pp. 20-21. For this particular space, somewhat elevated above the rest of the Forum, and probably largely covered over after 7 BCE by the *aedes Concordiae Augustae*, see most recently MAR 97, s.v. 'Concordia Augusta, Aedes' (C.F. Noreña); *LTUR* I, 316-20, s.v. 'Concordia, Aedes' (A.M. Ferroni); *NTDAR* 432, s.v. 'Volcanal'; F. Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano I: Periodo Arcaico* (Rome 1983) 28, n. 8 and 168 locating the Volcanal over the Lapis Niger; and C. Gasparri, *Aedes Concordiae Augustae* (Rome 1979). Sehlmeier op. cit. (n. 4), 118, notes that Duilius' column was situated near the Clivus Capitolinus, the last part of the triumphal route, for which see also pp. 317-8 ('Karten'), the first showing the triumphal route through the Forum and up to the Capitol, albeit in the late Republic, and the second showing the relative positions of various monuments, including Duilius' column, around the Comitium. Servius' opinion (*ad Georg.* 3.29) that Duilius erected a column *in rostris* could be a misapprehension caused by the Rostra's removal from the Comitium to the west end of the Forum in the last decades of the 1<sup>st</sup> century, near where the column already stood.

<sup>32</sup> The *average* weight of a quinquireme's ram was ca. 500 kg. It is important to note that rams were actually hollow metal sheathings placed over a wooden substructure attached to the ship's prow. For a discussion of ram sizes and the probable size of those suspended on Roman monuments, see W.M. Murray and Photios M. Petsas, 'Octavian's Campsite Memorial for the Actian War' in *TAPA* 79 (1989) 99-113.

<sup>33</sup> Sehlmeier, op. cit. (n. 4), 118, following Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), 31 in citing as evidence for the statue atop the column Duilius' *elogium* in the Forum Augusti (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.13): S]TATVA C[V]M | [COLVMNA] PR[OPE A]REAM VVLC[ANI P]JOS[I]T[A]. It is assumed here that the painted portrait of M. Fulvius Flaccus, *cos.* 264 and triumphator over the Volsinii, depicting him in triumphal garb and placed in his manubial Temple to Vortumnus (Fest. 228L, s.v. *Picta*) may have served as a model/precursor for Duilius' statue.

<sup>34</sup> For the anchors, see *RIC* I<sup>2</sup> Aug. 271 depicting a rostral column with three *rostra* on each side, two anchors on the front, and a statue of a nude figure wearing a *chlamys* and *parazonium*. Sehlmeier, op. cit. (n. 4), 118 notes that the 9m-high modern copy of a rostral column located in the Museo della Civiltà Romana (seen here in fig. 2) was actually modeled on the Augustan coin type. See also *LTUR* I, 308, s.v. 'Columna Rostrata Augusti' (D. Palombi).

<sup>35</sup> Plin. *NH* 34.20. On the *Columna Maenia*, the first-ever victory monument to commemorate a successful naval engagement against Antium in 338, though not decorated with *rostra*, see

in appropriate pose, clothing and accoutrements, so that statue and *titulus* (assuming one existed) would form together an unambiguous, didactic presentation.<sup>36</sup> Duilius' column and statue, therefore, were only quoting an already time-honored mode of commemoration. Even the novel addition of *rostra* to the column was a quotation of another monument from the commemorative program of 338: the Rostra itself, a *suggestum* on the edge of the Comitium to which were attached the *rostra* of Antiatene ships seized by Maenius.<sup>37</sup> Duilius' column, bristling with naval paraphernalia, thus innovatively combined familiar symbolism from two different but theme-related monuments to create a new yet immediately recognizable symbolic type. Furthermore, not only did this unique monument highlight the extraordinary nature of his victory, it also tied itself visually to two neighboring monuments of an earlier landmark victory (albeit without a naval triumph), both of which were located near the place where the people exercised their sovereign rights, the Comitium. It is unfortunate, however, that nothing is known about the circumstances surrounding the column's placement and innovative, symbolic design, for its imagery and location astutely proclaimed Duilius' new status as successor to that earlier popular patron and leader, Gaius Maenius. Was the idea for this implicit message generated by the senate or people, on whose order the column was set up, or does it reflect some direction on the part of Duilius himself? For reasons to be discussed below, it may be the former rather than the latter.

### Duilius' *Elogium*: Dating the Inscription

The role of the *elogium* was to provide details about sea battles won, captives taken, and naval booty seized and redistributed — information not easily conveyed through imagery — in order to guide its reader to a greater appreciation of the monument's visual message, and of Duilius' achievements. In fact, the only surviving vestiges of the rostral monument are fragments of the inscription itself, found in 1565 near the arch of Septimius Severus below the Capitol, a find spot that accords well with ancient testimony regarding the column's location.<sup>38</sup> First installed in a wall of the Palazzo dei

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most recently Sehlmeier, op. cit. (n. 4), 53-7; Jordan-Ruwe, op. cit. (n. 4), 55-6; *LTUR* I, 301-2, s.v. 'Columna Maenia' (M. Torelli); s.v. *NTDAR* 94-5, 'Columna Maenia'; and Coarelli, op. cit. (n. 4), 38-53 (strangely, Coarelli lists Duilius' column in his index without page number, and appears to have omitted it from his book altogether). Cf. also F. Millar's comments in 'Political Power in Mid-Republican Rome: Curia or Comitium?', *JRS* 79 (1989) 138-50 for an interesting, though not unchallenged, discussion about the meaning of these changes around the Comitium in the late-4<sup>th</sup> century BCE.

<sup>36</sup> That there was such an ideal, though not always achieved, can be inferred from Cicero's complaint (*Att.* 16.1.7) about incorrect inscriptions for portrait statues that were otherwise identifiable by visual attributes. Of course, some statues or *elogia* were altered to enhance the reputation of the family of the person portrayed. For a modern discussion of the deliberate alteration of history through doctored *laudationes*, *elogia* and *tituli*, see Flower, op. cit. (n. 26), 128-84.

<sup>37</sup> Liv. 8.14.12; Plin. *NH* 34.20; Coarelli, op. cit. (n. 31), 21; *NTDAR* (1992) 334-5, s.v. 'Rostra'.

<sup>38</sup> Cf. n. 21 above.

Conservatori, they were later moved to the Museo Nuovo Capitolino in 1929, where an artist's rendition of a rostral column stands nearby (ills. 2, 3).<sup>39</sup>

The inscription's authenticity and date have been a subject of debate for centuries. Numerous scholars have followed the lead of Ritschl, Mommsen, and Lommatzsch in questioning the *elogium's* date and whether it is a Middle Republic composition or an Augustan invention, like the *elogia* created for the *summi viri* monument in the Forum Augusti.<sup>40</sup> Others have tried to find a middle ground, describing it as a repeatedly restored, posthumous inscription of ca. 220-200.<sup>41</sup> Such arguments focus on two main problems: the admixture of archaic and imperial orthography; and the material, Luna (Carrera) marble, which was not used in the third century.<sup>42</sup>

A Middle Republic date of origin is indicated by the majority of the inscription's orthographic forms: *-os* instead of *-us* in the nominative singular (e.g., *PRIMOS*); *-om* for *-um* in the accusative singular (e.g., *CAPTOM*); and *EN* for *IN*. The curious preference for the enclitic *-que* and the total avoidance of *et* recall the formal language of the

<sup>39</sup> The block in which the inscription is situated measures 1.015 x 1.325 x .78 m (*CIL* 1<sup>2</sup>.1.25 [cf. pp. 718, 739, 831, 861f.] = *CIL* VI 1300 [cf. 31591 and 37040] = *ILS* 65 = *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.69 = *ILLRP* 319); the inscription fragments measure .75 x .87 m (Gordon, op. cit. [n. 5], 124). See also Chioffi, op. cit. (n. 4), and H. Solin, *Arctos* 15 (1981) 113. See also note 34 supra, on the artist's rendition of the column.

<sup>40</sup> For Mommsen and Lommatzsch, see *CIL* 1<sup>2</sup>.1.25 (ed. Lommatzsch, cf. pp. 718, 739, 831); Ritschl, *Opuscula* IV, 183ff. For the other scholars, cf. the bibliography in Gordon, op. cit. (n. 5), 125. The Augustan-era *elogium* from the Forum Augusti (*Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.13) reads as follows (with my suggestions for additional restorations underlined):

[—————]H[—————]PRIMVS] |  
 [EXORNARE]NAVIS CO[RVO NAVES CARTHAGINIENSIS] |  
 [MVLTA]CJEPIT PRI[M]VS D[E POENEIS N]AVAL[EM] |  
 [TR[IVMPHVM] EGIT H]VIC PER[MISS]VM EST V[T AB E]PVLIS DOMVM |  
 [CVM TIBICI]NE E[T F]VNALI REDIRET[ET S]TATVA C[V]M |  
 [COLVMNA]PR[OPE A]REAM VVLC[ANI P]OS[I]T[A SIT].

... first to fit out a ship with the *corvus*, he captured many Carthaginian vessels. First to hold a naval triumph over the Phoenicians. To him it was permitted to return from feasts with a piper and wax torches and that a statue together with a column be placed near the Volcanal.

<sup>41</sup> T. Frank, *CPh* 14 (1919) 74-82 first suggested that the current inscription is an early Imperial restoration of a previously restored version of the *elogium* from ca. 150 BCE, soon after all monuments not authorized by the SPQR were removed from the Forum (159 BCE), and those which remained were, apparently, restored or repaired. For the general consensus on the numerous restorations of a late-3<sup>rd</sup> century inscription, see Degrassi's comments in *CIL* 1<sup>2</sup>.1, pp. 861-2. Only Campanile argues the extreme, untenable notion that it is a Late Antique fabrication in 'L'iscrizione di Duilio', *Studi e Saggi Linguistici* 17 (1977) 81-92. He contends that the inscription is a fake produced by a Late Antique Latin grammarian who knew: 1) Archaic Latin; 2) the doctrine of Latin's Greek origins, and 3) how to apply the principles of analogous theory, etc. This seems most improbable given Quintilian's discussion of the inscription and its epigraphic style (Quintil. 1.7.12).

<sup>42</sup> *Inscr. Ital.* 3.13.69, p. 44.

*SC de Bacchanalibus*.<sup>43</sup> Degrassi and Gordon find no reason to reject Quintilian's learned opinion, based on its *d*-form ablatives, that the column's inscription is a genuine transmission of an earlier Republican text.<sup>44</sup> Gordon also argues that no one, not even the arcanophile Claudius, would have felt compelled to concoct an archaized inscription — the *elogium C. Duilii* in the Forum Augusti, with its very different emphasis, shows no attempt to archaize<sup>45</sup> — so Quintilian's judgment should be accepted. Also supporting the inscription's original composition in the Middle Republic, at least prior to 211 BCE, are its descriptive terms for money and booty, which are entirely consonant with the mixed-monetary system used in Rome before the introduction of the *denarius*. Had the inscription been composed in the first century BCE/CE, it surely would have contained anachronistic references to *sestertii* or *denarii*, as Late Republican- and Imperial-era authors consistently misapprehended Rome's early monetary systems, and retrojected their own *denarius-sestertius* system, or aspects of it, much too far into the past.<sup>46</sup>

While most scholars accept a Middle Republic date for the original inscription, there is still some debate over whether it was composed soon after the events it describes, or after Duilius' death in extreme old age ca. 220 BCE. One school of thought, represented by Degrassi *et alii*, contends that the emphasis of the *elogium* on *PRIMOS* indicates that others had obtained similar victories and honors, and so the text must have been composed at the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, perhaps even as late as the end of the Second Punic War.<sup>47</sup> Such an emphasis, however, would have been historically appropriate as early as 257, when C. Atilius Regulus celebrated a naval triumph for defeating the Carthaginians at Tyndaris.<sup>48</sup> Likewise in 254, when M. Aemilius, *cos.* 255, set up his own rostral column on the Capitol, perhaps to overshadow Duilius' column situated at its foot.<sup>49</sup> Gordon, meanwhile, has demonstrated that Roman epigraphic practice supports an earlier *terminus ante quem*, by observing that until ca. 250 BCE the letter *C* was used to

<sup>43</sup> Gordon, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 126, noting Wölfflin's observation in *Sitzungsberichte der kaiserlichen bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, (Munich 1890) 298, that the inscription exhibits 'Curialsprache' which, like the *SC de Bacchanalibus*, avoids *et*; cf. Niedermann, *REL* 14 (1936) 276ff., arguing that the inscription's language is appropriate to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE.

<sup>44</sup> Quint. 1.7.12: ... *ut a Latinis veteribus D plurimis in verbis ultimam adiectam, quod manifestum est etiam ex columna rostrata, quae est Duilio in foro posita*; cf. *ILLRP* I, pp. 189-190; Gordon, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 124.

<sup>45</sup> Gordon, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 124-5.

<sup>46</sup> Plin. *NH* 33.42-44 is a typical example. For a full discussion of the problem of ancient texts referring to Rome's early monetary systems, see *RRC* 35ff, and 631; also *CMURR* 17-22, where Crawford notes that Rome used money (i.e. metal paid out in state-designated fixed-weight units) long before it instituted coinage.

<sup>47</sup> *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.69, p. 47; *ILLRP* I, p. 190; and *CIL* 1<sup>2</sup>.1, p. 862 for bibliography up to 1986. Among Degrassi's supporters are D.R. Dudley, *Urbs Roma* (Aberdeen 1967) 94 and Chioffi, *op. cit.* (n. 4).

<sup>48</sup> For C. Atilius Regulus' victory and naval triumph, see: Polyb. 1.25.1-6; *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1 (*Fast. Tr.*) 76, 548; cf. Val. Max. 4.4.5; Oros. 4.8.5; Fest. 156 L; Zonar. 8.12.

<sup>49</sup> Liv. 42.20.1 mentions Aemilius' column at the time of its destruction by storm in 172 BCE. For details, see *LTUR* I, 307-8, s.v. 'Columna Rostrata L. Aemilii Paulli' (D. Palombi); more recently, Sehlmeier, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 119-21.

represent the phonetic value *G* (as in *MACISTRATOS*), for which reason he believes that the original inscription must have been composed between 260 and 250.<sup>50</sup> Of course, it is possible that the new *G* was not universally adopted for some time, so the possibility of a slightly later date can not be entirely eliminated.

The inscription's epigraphic style has the monumental look of the Early Imperial period, particularly in the tall *I* in lines 6 and 7. It also includes early Imperial orthographic forms such as *PRAEDA* (for the older *PRAIDA*) and *IN* (for *EN*), the slippage into later forms perhaps due to careless transcription or a worn tufa original.<sup>51</sup> It seems reasonable to date the inscription's restoration to the period when Augustus 'honored the memories of the leaders who had raised the empire of the Roman people from the least to the greatest... [and] restored the works of such men with their remaining inscriptions, and ... dedicated statues of all of them in triumphal dress in both porticoes of his forum....'<sup>52</sup> The statues referred to here, from the *summi viri* monument located in the Forum Augusti, included one of Duilius.<sup>53</sup> Since Augustus restored the works (*opera*) of the men so honored and their accompanying inscriptions (*tituli*), it seems quite possible that he was responsible for the latest restoration of Duilius' column and its inscription.<sup>54</sup> Indeed, the Luna marble slab upon which the surviving inscription was carved fits well with an Augustan date, as the same material was used both on new buildings and on restoration projects throughout Rome.<sup>55</sup>

In sum, the inscription's content and most of its orthography place the original text in the Middle Republic, surely no later than 211, and perhaps as early as ca. 260-250. Its epigraphic style, its material, and the literary record all suggest that it was included in the Augustan restoration of Republican monuments near the end of the first century BCE, with a *terminus ante quem* no later than 77 CE, when Pliny the Elder dedicated his *Natural History* (containing the earliest extant literary reference to the monument) to

<sup>50</sup> Gordon, op. cit. (n. 5), 126, citing J.S. Gordon, *The Letter Names of the Latin Alphabet*, *California Classical Studies* 9 (1973) 58, n. 76.

<sup>51</sup> Gordon, op. cit. (n. 5), 126. Wachter, op. cit. (n. 5), 361 thinks it hardly likely that a tufa inscription could be worn beyond recognition in a century or two, given that many other Roman inscriptions on tufa have survived to our own time, and so postulates a hitherto unsuspected 'Damnatio Memoriae des Duilius (und später eine gloriose Rehabilitierung) ...'. It is quite possible, however, that the inscription upon which the restored version was modelled had been damaged in one of the many fires that plagued the Forum down to 14 BCE.

<sup>52</sup> Suet. *Aug.* 31.5: *Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum praestitit, qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit...*

<sup>53</sup> *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.13; cf. n. 40 above for the text.

<sup>54</sup> As T. Frank, op. cit. (n. 41), observed, the inscription may have undergone an earlier restoration ca. 150; he also suggests that its expansive style imitates a Sicilian Greek practice of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE.

<sup>55</sup> Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), noting also that Augustus had battled in Mylaean waters in 36 (Suet. *Aug.* 16.1; App. *BC* 5.117-120), and so would have felt a special affinity for Duilius; cf. F. Coarelli, 'Il tempio di Diana "in Circo Flaminio" ed alcuni problemi connessi', *DialArch* 2 (1968) 191-209, and my response in *MAR* 101, s.v. 'Diana, Aedes (Campus Flaminus)'.

Titus during his sixth consulship.<sup>56</sup> In either case, the text of the *elogium* seems to have been composed within living memory of Duilius' achievements, if not during his own lifetime. It also provides important information that gives context and meaning to the symbolism on the *aes signatum* discussed below.

### Duilius' *Elogium*: Content

For his textual restoration, based on the considerations of spacing and literary testimonia, Degraffi took the first extant fragmentary line as the *original's* first, assuming the *titulus* with name, titles and magistracies had been inscribed on, or just below, the column's capital. He also held that not much has been lost from the end of the inscription, perhaps only the line at the very bottom, for which the tops of the letters still exist. His restoration of the text is as follows (*ill.* 3):<sup>57</sup>

- 1 [CONSOL SECEST]ANO[S, SOCIOS P R CARTACINIENSIOM]
- 2 [OPSIDIONE]D EXEMET LECION[ESQVE CARTACINIENSIS OMNIS]
- 3 [MA]XIMOSQVE MACISTR[A]TOS L[VCI PALAM POST DIES]
- 4 [N]OVEM CASTREIS EXFOCIONT MACEL[AMQVE OPIDOM]
- 5 [P]VCNANDOD CEPET. ENQVE EODEM MAC[ISTRATVD BENE]
- 6 [R]EM NAVEBOS MARID CONSOL PRIMOS C[ESET COPIASQVE]
- 7 [C]LASESQVE NAVALES PRIMOS ORNAVET PA[RAVETQVE]
- 8 CVMQVE EIS NAVEBOS CLASEIS POENICAS OM[NIS ITEM MA]
- 9 [X]VMAS COPIAS CARTACINIENSIS PRAESENTE[D HANIBALED]
- 10 DICTATORED OL[OR]OM IN ALTOD MARID PVC[NANDOD VICET]
- 11 VIQVE NAVE[IS CEPE]T CVM SOCIEIS SEPTER[ESMOM I QVIN]
- 12 [QVERESMO]SQVE TRIRESMOSQVE NAVEIS X[XX MERSET XIII]
- 13 [AVRO]M CAPTOM NVMEI ΦΦΦDCC (?) [*vacat*]<sup>58</sup>
- 14 [ARCEN]TOM CAPTOM PRAEDA NVMEI m[ . . . . ?]<sup>59</sup>
- 15 [OMNE] CAPTOM AES mmmmmmmmm[mmmmmm]
- 16 [mm]mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm[mmmmmm?]
- 17 [TRIVMP]OQVE NAVALED PRAEDAD POPLOM [DONAVET]<sup>60</sup>

<sup>56</sup> For the reference to the monument, see Plin. *NH* 34.11.20; for the dedication, see Plin. *NH* 1.1-4. Gordon, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 124 suggests a Claudian date, and a *terminus ante quem* of 77. Indeed, the epigraphic style and material is not inconsistent with those periods, and could represent a later restoration of Augustus' restoration.

<sup>57</sup> From E. Nash, *Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, 2<sup>nd</sup> rev. ed. (New York 1968) 282, fig. 333.

<sup>58</sup> There is some question about the characters following the 'D', as they are damaged (see fig. 3).

<sup>59</sup> The 'm' is meant to represent here the Roman symbol for 100,000 as found in the inscription.

<sup>60</sup> Gordon, *op. cit.* (n. 5), 125 notes that '[TRIVMP]OQVE' represents the only ablative without the -d ending. It should be noted that Mommsen provided an alternative emendation for lines 16-18 (*CIL* 1<sup>2</sup>.1.25, cf. p. 385; followed by Dessau in *ILS* 65 with slight emendation): [mm]mmmmmmmmmmmmmmmm....[PRI-] / [MOS QV]OQVE NAVALED PRAEDAD POPLOM [DONAVET PRI] / [MOSQVE] CARTACINIE[NS]IS [INCE]NVOS D[VXIT IN] / [TRIVMPOD...]. While this reading takes care of the problem of TRIVMP]OQVE

18 [MVLTO[SQUE] CARTACINIE[NS]IS [INCE]NVOS D[VXIT ANTE]  
 19 [CVRVM-----] CAPT[-----]

1 As consul, he freed the Segestans — allies of the Roman People —  
 2 from the Carthaginian siege, and all the Carthaginian legions  
 3 and (their) highest official, by daylight, openly, after nine  
 4 days fled from their camp. And the town of Macella  
 5 he captured in battle. And in that same magistracy he was  
 6 the first consul to successfully wage war in ships at sea; crews  
 7 and fleets of warships he was the first to equip and train;  
 8 and with these ships the Punic fleets and likewise all  
 9 the mighty hosts of the Carthaginians, with Hannibal — their  
 10 dictator — present, he defeated in battle on the high seas.  
 11 And by force he captured, with their crews, one septireme  
 12 and 30 quinquiremes and triremes, and he sank 13 ships.  
 13 Gold coins captured: 3,700 (?)  
 14 Silver coins captured and from the sale of booty: 100,000 (++)  
 15 All captured in bronze: 1.4 million (or more, plus)  
 16 1.5 million (or more)  
 17 And at his triumph he presented the people with naval booty,  
 18 and many free-born Carthaginians he led before  
 19 his chariot. ————— captured —————

As it stands, the inscription not only describes events well known (or restored) from literary sources, but also offers tantalizing clues to events unattested elsewhere.<sup>61</sup> The focus here, however, will be on the lines tallying the results of Duilius' victory and describing the booty displayed in and distributed at his triumph.

The first point worth noting is the fragment *CAPT* in line 19 which indicates that the inscription probably included a reckoning, now mostly lost, of enemies captured (7,000) and killed (3,000).<sup>62</sup> Such a tally would naturally follow line 18 which (as restored) notes freeborn Carthaginian captives led before Duilius' triumphal chariot. Although the sources for these numbers are admittedly late, they probably followed the same, earlier source, which may have been based, ultimately, on the inscription itself. Most of the captives may have been ransomed or sold into slavery, the most prominent being held in reserve for display in the triumph, and any subsequent prisoner exchanges with Carthage (one of which took place only a few years later).<sup>63</sup>

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being the one ablative without a *-d* ending, it makes less sense spatially; furthermore, it is quite possible that, as with the other orthographic slippages already mentioned, the latest redactor of the inscription simply neglected to inscribe the *-d* ending. For further discussion of the linguistic difficulties in the inscription, see Wachter, *op. cit.* (n. 5).

<sup>61</sup> Such as the flight of the entire Carthaginian army and high command in broad daylight after a nine-day siege of Segesta, noted in lines 3-4. Zonar. 8.11 notes only that Duilius took Segesta without an actual fight, as Hamilcar, the Carthaginian commander, refused to come to blows.

<sup>62</sup> Eutrop. 2.20; Oros. 4.7.10.

<sup>63</sup> For the prisoner exchange with Carthage, see: Liv. *Per.* 19; cf. note 64 below, for references to the practice of ransoming captives.

Assuming the *elogium* did contain a reference to enemies killed and captured, then the entire latter half of the inscription would be remarkably similar in tone and construction to the types of accounts offered by Livy for the physical results of campaigns fought by the generation preceding the First Punic War (in terms of booty won, displayed and distributed, and of enemies killed and captives sold or ransomed).<sup>64</sup> Livy, for his part, seems to have derived such information from the accounts deposited by generals in the Aerarium, or from earlier historians who carefully inspected these accounts.<sup>65</sup> Since Livy's account of Duilius' campaigns and triumph has been lost, it cannot be determined whether he might have been influenced by the inscription itself. Nonetheless, because there are fairly acceptable precedents from the 290s, and for the purposes of argumentation, it will be assumed that since the inscription was likely composed within living memory of Duilius' achievement (if not shortly after the actual events), the reckoning of booty is probably not far from reality. Indeed, insofar as the gold and silver are concerned, the amounts are not overly spectacular.

### Duilius' *Praeda*

Line 13 of the column's inscription clearly states that Duilius captured 3,500 or 3,700 gold *nummi* that had probably been intended as pay for Carthaginian officers.<sup>66</sup> To understand the economic implications of this claim, it is necessary to digress into numismatic territory. First, it should be noted that the Romans, like the South Italians, used *nummus* to indicate any standard-module coin for a particular metal.<sup>67</sup> Since Rome would issue no gold coins for another half-century, the inscription may refer to gold coins from Carthage, which at this time were actually electrum tridrachms on the Phoenician standard (ca. 10.9 gm) with a gold content of 45-49%; the gold yield, between 4.9 and 5.3 gm per coin, or approximately one talent of pure gold, was not a huge amount by later standards, nor of great consequence to Carthage.<sup>68</sup> Duilius' victory seems rather to

<sup>64</sup> See, for instance, Liv. 10.31.3-4 (295 BCE) enumerating 4,500 Perusini slain, 1,740 captured and ransomed at 310 *asses* each; Liv. 10.45.11 (293 BCE) noting 10,000 enemy dead and only slightly more captured; Liv. 10.45.16-17 (293 BCE) noting 7,400 slain and less than 3,000 captured; Liv. 10.46.2 (293 BCE) with 2,400 slain and just under 2,000 prisoners. Virtually all of these accounts are associated with tallies of booty captured or acquired from the sale or ransoming of prisoners.

<sup>65</sup> Shatzman, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 183 believes Livy is faithfully reporting the reckonings for *praeda* as given in his sources, who themselves must have read the lists of booty displayed in the triumphs and distributed to the soldiers which were afterwards kept in the Aerarium (for which see Cic. *Verr.* 2.1.57 and Ps.-Ascon. *ad loc.* = 237 Stangl).

<sup>66</sup> For the rare occasion where the Carthaginians paid the mercenaries in electrum (at the end of the war when pay was badly in arrears), see Polyb. 1.66.6, the coin mentioned being a *chrysos*.

<sup>67</sup> In both *RRC* 632 and *CMURR* 14-15, Crawford notes that while *nummus*, a loan word from the coin terminology of Magna Graecia and Sicily, meant 'standard coin' of any metal in Roman parlance, it was restricted to bronze coinage in Oscan and Umbrian communities, as evidenced by epigraphic and numismatic evidence.

<sup>68</sup> G.K. Jenkins and R.B. Lewis, *Carthaginian Gold and Electrum Coins* (London 1963), no. 405; K. Harl, *Coinage in the Roman Economy: 300 B.C. to A.D. 700* (Baltimore 1996) 392, n. 22, thinks the coins were Attic *tridrachmai* of good gold at 12.5 gm each.



have had a much greater impact on Carthage's *remaining* gold reserves, which had to be stretched to pay for replacing their fleet: numismatic evidence indicates that shortly after the battle at Mylae, Carthage dropped the gold content of its coinage to 35%.<sup>69</sup>

As for the silver *nummi* listed in line 14, it is impossible to guess how far right the symbols for 100,000 should be carried. Space exists for six or seven numeric symbols, although the tally is unlikely to have included more than two symbols for 100,000, even for the combined total of silver coins captured or rendered from the sale of booty.<sup>70</sup> Even if the number of captured 'silver' coins could be known, a problem of valuation arises because Carthage normally paid its motley mercenary army in shekel-didrachms or dishekel-tetradrachms made of billon, an alloy of silver and bronze in which the silver content was gradually reduced as the war dragged on.<sup>71</sup> Since the most common silver coin (*nummus*) in Rome and Italy after the Pyrrhic War was the didrachm, weighing ca. 6.6 to 6.75 gm (with a 90% silver content), it might be supposed that the inscription referred to debased Carthaginian shekels, roughly on the same module as the Roman didrachm, or, less likely, to dishekel-tetradrachms nominally revalued, due to their low silver content, as shekel-didrachms. As for the silver coinage rendered from the sale of booty and prisoners, one can only guess at the location of the sale and hence the type of coinage involved; suffice it to say that whether the proceeds from the sale of booty came from Hiero II's Syracuse, or from the South Italian cities, or from Rome itself, the coinage involved would have been of good silver.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>69</sup> Jenkins and Lewis, *op. cit.* (n. 68), no. 428 for the debasement of electrum issues; cf. Polyb. 1.71.1-7 for the economic straits in which the Carthaginians found themselves at war's end. The reduction by about 25% of gold content in their electrum coins allowed Carthaginians to issue 4 coins for every 3 they had issued previously, resulting in a 33% increase in their electrum coin supply.

<sup>70</sup> Shatzman, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 181 and 184 argues from the sources that *praeda* invariably meant money from the sale of booty in the later Republic, but he is not so certain for earlier periods when it could indicate undifferentiated booty of various kinds, including captives. For the sale of prisoners to enhance the total count of *praeda* for distribution, see Liv. 10.31.3-4 (295 BCE) noting the capture and ransoming of 1,740 Perusini at 310 *asses* each, with the *ex praeda* proceeds going to the soldiers: *Fabius ... Perusinorum ... cepit ad mille septingentos quadraginta, qui redempti singuli aeris trecentis decem; praeda alia omnis militibus concessus.*

<sup>71</sup> Polyb. 1.67.7. The mercenaries were mainly Libyans from the countryside dependencies belonging to Carthage, although they also had Gauls, Ligurians, Greeks and Balearic slingers in the ranks. On the debasement of Carthaginian silver in this period, see *CMURR* 137-8, wherein Crawford points out that Carthage was already issuing this debased coinage before the First Punic War. It seems highly unlikely that the mercenaries would have been paid in good Sicilian silver, as that would have worked a great hardship on the finances of the Carthaginian government.

<sup>72</sup> *RRC* 632 and *CMURR* 41-2, 106. Silver coinage had been issued in Rome since ca. 269 BCE; previous didrachm issues for Rome (from ca. 310) were mostly issued in Campania and used for transactions relating to, e.g., the building of inter-city roads, i.e., the Via Appia from Rome to Capua. It seems that Rome, whose monetary system throughout most of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century was still based on the bronze *as*, only developed silver coinage as an expedient to pay for and equip fleets in the South of Italy (this is a very general description; one should

Lines 15 and 16 are a topic of debate, because they can be taken either as accounting for the total value of booty in bronze, or as giving a tally of bronze captured. Numerous scholars, following Mommsen's lead, believe the figures comprise a total valuation for booty captured or sold, assessed in Roman bronze *asses*.<sup>73</sup> The *as* was Rome's standard unit of reckoning at that time; it was also a coin weighing 270 gm throughout the First Punic War.<sup>74</sup> In this case, therefore, [OMNE] CAPTOM AES would indicate a conversion of all values into *asses*. Since at least 29 symbols for 100,000 can be postulated for lines 15 and 16, and as many as 34 symbols if carried to the end of line 16, the total value of the booty would range between 2.9 and 3.4 million *asses*, an enormous sum considering that the average Roman soldier of the time was probably paid less than an *as* per day.<sup>75</sup>

In 1974, Crawford worked backwards from the idea that [OMNE] CAPTOM AES represented an accounting valuation and a guess that line 14 indicated 200,000 to 300,000 silver *nummi*, and guessed that Duilius' inscription was assuming an ad hoc silver-to-bronze equivalency of 1 silver *nummus-didrachm* per ten pounds of bronze; Harl, apparently following Crawford, makes roughly the same calculation.<sup>76</sup> On this basis, if the total figure of [OMNE] CAPTOM AES came to 2.9 to 3.4 million *asses*, then

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refer to Crawford's opening chapters in both *RRC* and *CMURR* discussing the development of Rome's monetary system).

<sup>73</sup> Mommsen, *CIL* 1<sup>2</sup>.1.25, p. 386 basing his argument on Valerius Antias' account of the booty in L. Aemilius Paullus' triumph in 167 (Liv. 45.40); see more recently: *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.69, pp. 47-8; Shatzman, op. cit. (n. 6), 186; Gordon, op. cit. (n. 5), 126, who anachronistically uses the *denarius*, a unit of reckoning that would not exist for another 50 years, in his calculation of the value; Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), 31; and *RRC* 626-8.

<sup>74</sup> This represents approximately ten Roman ounces derived from a Roman pound of twelve *unciae* (ounces) — the original weight of the *as* down to 275-270 BCE — or 325-335 gm (*RRC* 141). The system of reckoning value in bronze pounds (the *as* of 335 gm) was native to Italy (*CMURR* 14). From the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century through the First Punic War, some Italian issues were as heavy as 350-400 gm (*CMURR* 43). After 269, bronze became scarcer, and the Roman *as* dropped to 10 ounces (265-70 gm) throughout the First Punic War; in the time of the Hannibalic War, the *as* eventually dropped to 2 ounces, where it remained for some time.

<sup>75</sup> C. Nicolet, *The World of the Citizen in Republican Rome* (Berkeley 1980) 116 calculates the rate of pay for soldiers during or just after the Second Punic War at a *sestertius* a day (2.5 *asses*); Polybius (6.39.12) reckons it as 2 obols (1/3 *denarius*), which would be 3.3 sextantal (2-ounce) *asses*. From this we may surmise a payment of no more than 2 *asses* per day for the First Punic War, if not considerably less (cf. *CMURR* 22-3, n. 25, noting that the large number of bronze fractions before 214 indicates that soldiers were perhaps paid even *less* than one *as* per day). For huge sums displayed and distributed at triumphs before Duilius' day, cf. Liv. 10.44.5 and below.

<sup>76</sup> In *RRC* 626, n. 2, Crawford calculates that 200,000-300,000 *nummi* of silver equaled 2-3 million pounds (*asses*) of bronze (but note the obvious query). Harl, op. cit. (n. 68), 392 n. 22, apparently accepting this ratio, calculates that the gold *nummi* represent just over 900,000 *asses*; the remaining 2 million or so *asses* he figures at slightly more than 200,000 silver *denarii* (for his anachronistic application of the name *denarius* to the didrachm, cf. n. 78), thus rendering an unacceptable silver:bronze ratio of about 1:500, unattested by the evidence (cf. n. 78 below).

the roughly 2 to 2.5 million *asses* remaining after subtracting the value of the gold would render approximately 200,000 to 250,000 silver didrachms captured or derived from the sale of booty (there is, in fact, plenty of space in line 16 for figures giving this value).<sup>77</sup> But this ignores good numismatic evidence, much of it adduced by Crawford himself, that the Romans consistently maintained a silver:bronze ratio in their own currency of 1:120 throughout the 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>78</sup> In Duilius' day, this would have rendered only 3 *asses* of 270 gm per silver didrachm of 6.7 gm. It would also mean that the remaining 2-2.5 million *asses* (after subtracting the value in gold) would be equivalent to between 667,000 and 833,000 didrachms (or ca. 160 to 210 Attic talents of silver). Such an amount of silver is conceivable, although there seems to have been barely enough space

<sup>77</sup> Mommsen, *CIL* 1<sup>2</sup>.1.25, p. 386 rejected the idea that the Romans would have transported so much bronze to Italy from Sicily, advancing instead the theory that much of the booty would have been converted, through local sale, into more portable silver coinage.

<sup>78</sup> In *RRC* 625-8 and *CMURR* 33-42, Crawford gives a very plausible account, based on all the available numismatic evidence, demonstrating that the Romans maintained a consistent silver:bronze ratio of 1:120 down to the end of the 3<sup>rd</sup> century. Thus, an early 3<sup>rd</sup>-century didrachm of 7.9 gm was equivalent to 3 heavy *asses* (12 ounces or 325 gm each); a post-Pyrrhic War didrachm of ca. 6.7 gm would be worth 3 lighter *asses* (10 ounces or 270 gm); and the *denarius*, issued beginning ca. 211, weighing just over 4 gm, would be worth 10 of the much-reduced sextantal *asses* (1/6 pound or 2 ounces each) of ca. 48 gm (the actual range varied a bit); indeed, the *denarius* was officially tarified at 10 *asses*, whence its name. Crawford's system, combining the numismatic evidence with an acute sensitivity to the persistent tendency of ancient authors to retroject their own monetary experiences anachronistically into Rome's past, is preferable for its simplicity and overall consistency (see also D.R. Walker, *Metallurgy in Numismatics* I [London 1980] 56ff.). The lynchpin for Crawford's discussion (*RRC* 626ff.) is the retariffing of the didrachm during the Second Punic War as worth a quadrantal *decussis*, issued only a few years before the introduction of the silver *denarius*. This *decussis* was Rome's largest regular-issue bronze coin by denomination and by weight (leaving out of consideration the *aes signatum* bars for reasons discussed below, but cf. n. 116 for an *aes signatum decussis* of 3500 gm). Valued at 10 *asses* based on a reduced weight quadrantal *as* of 1/4 pound (= 3 ounces), a quadrantal *decussis* weighed 812 gm, almost exactly 120 times heavier than the 6.7 gm didrachm still in use at that time. Hence, the didrachm was worth 10 *asses* only *after* the emergency reduction of the weight of bronze coinage to the quadrantal standard; nonetheless, the actual silver:bronze value remained at a ratio of 1:120. The next change, alluded to above, was the reduction of the *as* from the quadrantal to the sextantal standard (2 ounces each) and the reduction of the standard silver coin to 4.4 gm, which became the new *denarius*, replacing the *decussis*. Notably, the new coins were marked with explicit valuations to avoid confusion: the *denarius* with an X (=10 *asses*); the *quinarius* with a V (=5 *asses*); and the silver *sestertius* with IIS (=2 *asses* and 1 *semis*, or 2.5 *asses*). Gold coins were similarly marked for 60, 40 and 20 *as* denominations. But again, as Crawford argues, the new silver and bronze coins maintained the erstwhile silver:bronze ratio at 1:120; indeed, the various reductions seem to have been possible only if the weight:value ratio of silver:bronze was kept, regardless of how the denominations were configured (only later in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century would a genuine token coinage system be established in Rome). Finally, it should be noted that in his introduction to Roman monetary systems, Harl, op. cit. (n. 68), 24-6 insists that Romans called their first silver didrachms *denarii*, and tarified them at 10 *asses*, thus giving them an unacceptably high silver:bronze ratio of nearly 1:500 in the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century.

in line 16 to encompass even the lower figure. Notwithstanding these accurate-looking figures, which are only approximations and guesses at potential readings for line 16, the point to be made here is that a case could be made for the possibility that the bronze mentioned in the inscription represents an abstract accounting total. It would seem more likely, however, that such a total would include an undifferentiated component of actual bronze, since it does not appear that the potential number of silver coins rendered by the conversion of bronze values to silver coinage can be accommodated by the space in line 14.

More recently, Crawford abandoned his belief that the inscription's reference to bronze represented an abstract monetary value for *all* the booty, implying that it actually accounts for 2.9 to 3.4 million Roman *pounds* (at ca. 324 gm each) of bronze captured from the Carthaginians at Mylae, Segesta and Macella.<sup>79</sup> Perhaps supporting his position is the simple fact that the word *nummei* is missing from this part of the inscription, when it should have followed the word *aes*, and so *[OMNE] CAPTOM AES* must represent undifferentiated bronze of all types. This approach would mean that Duilius captured 1,069 to 1,247 tons of bronze, equivalent to 3.5 to 4.1 million *asses* in actual coinage (at the weight of ca. 270 gm per *as*). That he would claim to have acquired such a huge quantity of bronze seems at first sight incredible. There might have been as much as 100 to 150 tons of bronze from the rams and bronze fittings of the thirty-one captured ships — the largest rams possibly weighing several tons each — and 90 tons or more of bronze from the armor, equipment and implements stripped from the 7,000 captured Carthaginians (estimating a 25 lb. minimum per person for light armor and helmet), but that still leaves at least 830 tons of bronze to account for. Even allowing for additional amounts of bronze taken when liberating the rich cities of Segesta and Macella, it seems as if the total given in the inscription for actual bronze captured might have been seriously exaggerated. But there is a near-contemporary, near-equivalent precedent cited by Livy for the year 293, a generation before Duilius' consulship.<sup>80</sup>

In 293, *cos.* L. Papirius Cursor sacked Saepinum in Samnium after a long and bloody campaign that left 7,000 enemy slain and fewer than 3,000 prisoners; his soldiers also acquired an enormous amount of booty, which he let them keep. At his triumph, the remaining spoils of his campaign — perhaps the general's own *manubiae* — were still of such a quantity as to excite inspection by the crowd: observers compared Papirius' *spolia* with those brought to Rome by his father, *spolia* which had been used to decorate public spaces; noble captives were also led in the procession.<sup>81</sup> More significantly, at least for our purposes, 2,533,000 pounds of *aes grave* were carried past the crowd, presumably in

<sup>79</sup> Crawford (*CMURR* 59, n. 14) argues for a total of 2,900,000 to 3,400,000 Roman pounds of bronze, basing the *as* unit of reckoning on the old Roman pound, even though the *as* was clearly a 10-ounce coin by this time. For an example of the enumeration of actual bronze coins deposited in the Roman treasury after a triumph, see Liv. 31.49.2 (320,000 *asses* in 200 BCE).

<sup>80</sup> Liv. 10.46.2-6.

<sup>81</sup> Liv. 10.46.4: *inspectata spolia Samnitium et decore ac pulchritudine paternis spoliis, quae nota frequenti publicorum ornatu locorum erant, comparabantur; nobiles aliquot captivi, clari suis patrumque factis, ducti*. For the difference between *praeda* (booty in general), and *manubiae* (the general's personal store of booty), see Shatzman, *op. cit.* (n. 6), 177-89.

a very long train of heavy-duty wagons, along with 1,830 pounds of silver.<sup>82</sup> Since all of this money was subsequently deposited in the *Aerarium*, with none distributed to soldiers, it is quite possible that this reckoning derives from a quaestorial accounting of the actual deposit.

If such quantities could be realized from a campaign against the Samnites in the 290s, then it seems reasonable to believe that a general fighting in wealthier areas (Sicily) against a far wealthier adversary (Carthage) should be able to display at his triumph amounts that were only incrementally greater. For instance, Duilius' 100,000 (attested) didrachms of silver represent just under 2,000 (Roman) pounds of silver, about 10% more than Papirius displayed; his 2.9-3.4 million pounds of bronze represent an increase of between 15 and 30% over that of Papirius. While the difference is potentially more significant in terms of the bronze, the overall difference is one of increment, not of quality or magnitude. Indeed, the basic similarities between the two triumphs indicate that Duilius' was not unique except for the maritime origin of the *praeda* he displayed and gave to the people, a point highlighted by the inscription itself. In any case, given the precedent of Papirius' lavish triumph, it becomes far less difficult to follow Crawford's lead in thinking that Duilius might have displayed so much bronze in his own triumph.

### Duilius' Gift to the People

The next line in the inscription (17), assuming Degrassi's restoration is correct, indicates what happened to a portion of all this valuable material: *[TRIVMP]OQVE NAVELED PRAEDAD POPLOM [DONAVET]*. Any interpretation of this statement requires some context. Shatzman has demonstrated that Roman generals had total authority over the disposal of booty acquired under their command.<sup>83</sup> Normally, they would distribute it in whole or in part to their soldiers.<sup>84</sup> They would also determine what types of booty —

<sup>82</sup> Liv: 10.46.5: *Aeris grauis trauecta uiciens centum milia et quingenta triginta tria milia; id aes redactum ex captiuis dicebatur; argenti, quod captum ex urbibus erat, pondo mille octingenta triginta. Omne aes argentumque in aerarium conditum, militibus nihil datum ex praeda est.* Whether Livy's reference (10.46.4-5) to Papirius' *aes grave* (heavy bronze, based on a pound of 324 gm) means it was in the form of cast coinage is difficult to say, since the dates for the introduction of *aes signatum* (ca. 289) and *aes grave* coins (ca. 280) are only approximate. Crawford (*CMURR* 40-1) suggests that Rome's first cast coinage was issued in 280 in response to the need to administer the *agri quaestorii* acquired in 290; cf. *Lib. Col.* 253, 17L and 349, 17L. But, one might ask, why not issue coins in 290? The important point is the physical presence in the triumph of so much bronze, since 2.533 million pounds of *aes grave* would be equal to 3.15 million of the lighter weight *asses* (270 gm) issued in Duilius' era. The silver may have been uncoined, since Livy gives its weight. It should also be noted that Duilius' 100,000 didrachms are equivalent to approximately 2,000 Roman pounds at 324 gm each.

<sup>83</sup> In general, Shatzman, op. cit. (n. 6), 177-205.

<sup>84</sup> Shatzman, op. cit. (n. 6), 202-5 notes that 'Numerous passages in Livy prove beyond doubt that the distribution of booty to soldiers was the exclusive right of the general'. Specific examples: Liv. 30.45.3; 31.20.7; 33.23.9; 34.46.3; 36.40.13; 39.5.17; 40.43.5; 40.59.2; 45.42.2; 43.4. Vague examples: Liv. 33.23.7; 33.37.12; 34.52.11; 41.13.7. Sometimes the general would give all of the booty to his men: Liv. 8.36.10; cf. 7.16.4; 7.24.9; 7.37.17; 9.31.5; 27.1.2; 30.7.2; 31.27.4. Significantly, Q. Fulvius Flaccus, *cos.* 179, gave no booty to

money, captives or *spolia* — their soldiers should receive; and they could hold certain amounts in reserve for votive temples or other *munificentia*.<sup>85</sup> Occasionally, they might deposit the entire sum in the Aerarium, as did Papirius, but only at the risk of incurring the wrath of their soldiers and potential political ruin.<sup>86</sup> There was also the custom, not illegal but disparaged by Cato the Elder, of giving presents from booty to relatives and friends, of which Shatzman cites numerous examples, although pointing out that the recipients all appear to have served in some capacity under the general who gave them such gifts.<sup>87</sup> Given the overwhelming evidence for the normal distribution of *praeda* to soldiers or to the Aerarium, or both, what is to be made of the inscription's (apparent) claim that '... at his triumph [Duius] presented the people with the naval booty'?

Pietilä-Castren opts for a distribution from 'the heterogeneous booty, rather than money or produce such as olive oil or wine'.<sup>88</sup> She cites, as a vague parallel of distributions given with the intention of generating popular good will towards the procuring of future offices, Scipio Africanus' distribution of olive oil when he was aedile in 213; she also notes that only after the Second Punic War does the distribution of money directly to citizens seem to come into vogue.<sup>89</sup> But there is another, more plausible scenario that suggests itself: the reimbursement to the people of that year's *tributum*, the war-tax.

Nicolet has demonstrated that *tributum*, the 'voluntary' contribution to the treasury to pay *stipendia* to soldiers on campaign, began during the campaign against Veii (406-396).<sup>90</sup> The consistent gathering of the 'war-tax' took such a heavy toll that it became a constant topic of plebeian contention and opposition.<sup>91</sup> Its occasional omission in peaceful years, as in 347, seems to have been considered more efficacious for lightening the burden on private finances than even major debt relief measures.<sup>92</sup> It also seems that

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the treasury, deciding instead to distribute all of it to his soldiers at his triumph (Liv. 40.59.1-2).

<sup>85</sup> Shatzman, op. cit. (n. 6), 202-5. Holding certain types or amounts of booty in reserve: Liv. 6.13.6; 7.27.8; 9.37.10-11; 10.31.3; 23.27.13; 24.16.5; 40.15.

<sup>86</sup> Shatzman, op. cit. (n. 6), 202-5, compares the very different distributions of the consuls of 293: Sp. Carvilius gave 102 *asses* (*gravis*) to his men, while L. Papirius Cursor gave it all to the treasury (Liv. 10.46) and was nearly ruined politically by this action.

<sup>87</sup> Shatzman, op. cit. (n. 6), 203.

<sup>88</sup> Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), 32.

<sup>89</sup> *Ibid.* See Nicolet, op. cit. (n. 75), 120 for a chart detailing attested distribution (and amounts) at triumphs from 201 to 167.

<sup>90</sup> Nicolet, op. cit. (n. 75), 117ff. and 156, 'the *tributum* was by definition a non-permanent tax'; cf. Diod. 14.6.5. Livy (4.59.11-4.60.8) paints a quaint picture of senators driving up to the Aerarium in wagons loaded down with *aes rude* (uncoined bronze) for deposit, to provide an example for emulation by the rest of the populace. Crawford (*CMURR* 23) makes the important point that *stipendium* denotes a 'weighing out' of pay, not payment in coins, as such would not be available for the first 125 years of the institution. He also argues that Livian and other evidence is consistent with the institution of *tributum* ca. 406, pointing out that *tributum* and *stipendium* are regularly linked in the sources, e.g., Liv. 4.60.4-5, 5.4.5-7, 5.5.4, 5.10.3-10, 5.11.5, 5.12.3-13, 5.20.5-8; cf. Liv. 10.46.6; Fest. 508 L; and Plin. *NH* 34.23.

<sup>91</sup> Nicolet, op. cit. (n. 75), 166.

<sup>92</sup> Liv. 7.27.4: *Idem otium domi forisque mansit T. Manlio Torquato [L. f.] C. Plautio consulibus. Semunciarium tantum ex unciario fenus factum et in pensiones aequas triennii,*

whenever occasion and plunder allowed, it was expected that the *tributum* would be lightened, omitted, or even refunded. This principle can be seen in operation on at least four distinct occasions in the generation before First Punic War. Livy notes that, in 293, *cos.* L. Papirius Cursor incurred the wrath of the populace — or at least of those who were required to pay into the war chest — because he deposited *all* the bronze and silver captured on his campaign in the Aerarium, rather than share it with his soldiers. This caused the plebs in particular to complain that ‘if [Papirius] had refused the glory of depositing the captured money in the Aerarium, then not only could a donative have been given to the army from the booty, but their military pay could have been provided for as well’.<sup>93</sup> Instead, a *tributum* was imposed on the populace immediately afterwards to meet this obligation.<sup>94</sup> Tellingly, Papirius’ co-consul Sp. Carvilius gained in popularity because he was extremely generous in sharing the *praeda* with his soldiers, thus relieving the populace of paying for their *stipendia* as well.<sup>95</sup> In 282, *cos.* C. Fabricius Lucinus used some of the booty he had acquired in southern Italy to reimburse citizens who had paid in advance to cover his soldiers’ *stipendia*:

While I was consul ... [I] took by storm and plundered many prosperous [Samnite, Brutian and Lucanian] cities, from which I enriched my entire army, gave back to the private citizens the special taxes which they had paid in advance for the prosecution of the war, and turned into the treasury four hundred talents after celebrating my triumph.<sup>96</sup>

Although this statement derives from a speech created for Fabricius by Dionysius, the claims made for his fiscal achievements do not seem out of line with those of other triumphators of that era, especially in regard to his dividing the proceeds among end-recipients including the army, the populace and the Aerarium — the distinction between the latter two being most important for understanding Duilius’ claim. Nicolet interprets ‘private citizens’ (ιδιώταις) in this passage as referring to the *tribuni aerarii*, men of a fairly wealthy class responsible for advancing the money for the war and collecting the appropriate amounts from other citizens (if they chose to do so); nonetheless, the general principle of reimbursing *tributum* to citizens is the key point to be emphasized, especially since all might be affected if the *tribuni aerarii* were assiduous in collecting from

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*ita ut quarta praesens esset, solutio aeris alieni dispensata est; et sic quoque parte plebis adfecta fides tamen publica priuatis difficultatibus potior ad curam senatui fuit. Leuata maxime res, quia tributo ac dilectu supersessum.*

<sup>93</sup> Liv. 10.46.5-6: *Omne aes argentumque in aerarium conditum, militibus nihil datum ex praeda est; auctaque ea inuidia est ad plebem, quod tributum etiam in stipendium militum conlatum est cum, si sprete gloria fuisset captivae pecuniae in aerarium inlatae, et militum <donum> dari ex praeda et stipendium militare praestari potuisset.* Cf. also n. 70 above and n. 97 below.

<sup>94</sup> Liv. 10.46.5.

<sup>95</sup> Liv. 10.46.15: 102 *asses* for each soldier and 204 *asses* for each centurion and cavalryman (equivalent to 34 and 68 *didrachmai*, respectively, though they were probably paid in bronze units, i.e., *aes signatum*, for which see below).

<sup>96</sup> Dion. 19.16.3 (trans. Cary). ... πολλές δὲ καὶ εὐδαίμονας πόλεις κατὰ κράτος ἐλὼν ἐξεπόρθεσα, ἐξ ὧν τὴν στρατιὰν ἅπασαν ἐπλούτισα, καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς τοῖς ιδιώταις ἃς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον προεἰσήνεγκαν ἀπέδωκα, καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον εἰσήνεγκα.

each citizen his proper share.<sup>97</sup> Finally, there is Dionysius' account of consuls C. Genucius Glepsina and Cn. Cornelius Blasio who, following their victory over Campanian rebels at Rhegium in 270, divided among the citizens (πολίταις) the proceeds from the sale of their war-captives and land 'won by the spear' and sold the year before.<sup>98</sup> This seems literally the same as saying that they divided the booty with the citizens for, as Shatzman has shown, *praeda* comprises not just captured booty — land, *spolia*, captives and money — but also money realized from the sale of booty.<sup>99</sup> It seems plausible that the reason for this distribution was the same as for the prior example: the restitution, in whole or in part, of the *tributum* paid to finance the campaigns that had generated the booty. While some may claim that the sources for these events are dubious, taken together they argue persuasively that the principle of distributing money from the sale of spoils to citizens who had contributed towards the costs of war was known and practiced well before the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.<sup>100</sup>

There is another point to consider: the extraordinarily heavy requirements of the *tributum* for the building of Duilius' fleet of 120 ships, not to mention the potential costs of *stipendia* not only for the regular soldiers, but also for the *proletarii* who manned the ships.<sup>101</sup> Certainly, wartime financial burdens of great size may be inferred from the unusually massive issues of coinage from Rome and Italy datable to the Pyrrhic and First Punic Wars.<sup>102</sup> Later analogies, such as the financial crises of the Second Punic War that triggered additional burdens, are also enlightening. In 215 a double *tributum* was imposed, the first to pay the soldiers, and the second as a 'loan' to the senate from which

<sup>97</sup> Nicolet, op. cit. (n. 75), 161-2, and Varro *LL* 5.181. Nicolet notes also special types of pay dubbed *aes militare* (lit. 'military money'), *aes equestre* ('cavalry money') and *aes hor-diarium* ('horsefeed money'), all of which could be requisitioned by soldiers from a *tribunus aerarii*.

<sup>98</sup> Battle: Polyb. 1.7.8-13; Liv. *Per.* 15. Division of booty proceeds among the citizens: *Dion.* 20.17; cf. Zonar. 8.7 who notes that 'a great deal of money fell to the share of Rome in those days, so that they even used silver *denarii*'. See *CMURR* 31-2 for Crawford's acceptance of the division of booty proceeds among the citizens and Zonaras' account of the inception of silver coinage, anachronistically characterized as *drachmai* (= *denarii*), as indicators of the first penetration of silver coinage into Rome's (local) bronze-based monetary system, which roughly coincides with ancient accounts of the first minting of silver coins in Rome, traditionally dated to 269. See also A. Burnett, 'The Coinages of Rome and Magna Graecia in the late Fourth and Third Centuries B.C.', *SNR* (1977) 91f., esp. p. 116.

<sup>99</sup> Shatzman, op. cit. (n. 6), 186; he even notes that '*Praeda* in the *elogium* of C. Duilius comprises money realized from the sale of booty'.

<sup>100</sup> Nicolet, op. cit. (n. 75), 156 gives an example for the later period: Manlius Vulso's triumph in 186, after which the proceeds of the *praeda* were used by the *quaestores urbani* to pay 25.5 asses per 1,000 to those who had paid into the war chest (*Liv.* 39.7.4-5).

<sup>101</sup> Lazenby, op. cit. (n. 1), 65-6 and Goldsworthy, op. cit. (n. 11), 105 provide the most recent arguments that Rome's *proletarii* were roughly in the same position as Athens' *thetes*. As evidence that marines or rowers were drawn from this class, both adduce the example of Claudia who was fined for expressing publicly her wish that her brother could lose another fleet — as he had at Drepana in 249 — and thus reduce the jostling crowd in Rome (*Liv. Per.* 19; *Suet. Tib.* 2.3; *Gell.* 10.6; cf. also Polyb. 6.19.3, saying that, at least in his day, Roman *proletarii* rated below 400 asses were liable for naval service).

<sup>102</sup> *CMURR* 47f.



they could draw for war emergencies.<sup>103</sup> In the next year, people of means were required to supply and pay sailors (mostly manumitted slaves) for the navy; notably, the burden was imposed on a sliding scale according to wealth.<sup>104</sup> In 210 everyone was asked, according to census and class, to 'lend' all their portable wealth to the treasury, which caused a tremendous popular uproar.<sup>105</sup> Interestingly, this particular loan was reimbursed in part with a *trientabula*, i.e., land grants from the *ager publicus* in lieu of money.<sup>106</sup> And, last but certainly not least, numismatic evidence — the debasement of the didrachm, the drastic reduction in size of the bronze coinage followed by a complete restructuring of the coinage system — also demonstrates the massive financial crises of the Hannibalic War.<sup>107</sup> The main point of all this is to demonstrate that the financial pressures of a great war called for the imposition of greater fiscal burdens on the public. Thus, although the evidence adduced derives from later events, it hints at the types of burdens that might have been imposed on the citizenry during the First Punic War, a war in which many expensive Roman fleets were lost. For this last matter, an instructive corollary has already been noted: Carthaginian finances suffered enough just from their one defeat at Mylae that they reduced the gold content of their electrum coinage by 25%.

Given the probability of this exponential increase in war expenses being shifted to the shoulders of those who paid the *tributum*, whether the *tribuni aerarii* or the citizens from whom they collected lesser shares, it would not be altogether surprising if Duilius used at least a portion of the *praeda* acquired in his campaign to reimburse the people. Such an action would be in line with similar events in the 30 years before the First Punic War and, as is well attested, for the generation following the Second Punic War, when Rome was again on a sound financial footing. In fact, the need and clamor for reimbursements of the *tributum* was unceasing, and only came to an end when L. Aemilius Paullus stuffed the treasury so full of gold and silver from his Macedonian campaign that the *tributum* was officially suspended.

To sum up: the inscription's claim that Duilius gave naval booty to the people 'at his triumph' *could* mean that he parceled out items captured in battle, but one might expect to hear of *spolia* instead, as when Papirius Cursor bedecked the Forum and many temples *spoliis hostium*.<sup>108</sup> Or it could mean that he deposited money from the sale of spoils captured at Mylae in the public treasury, but then one would expect something on the lines of *omne aes argentumque in aerarium conditum* (or *tulit*)<sup>109</sup> — indeed, as is clear from the case of Fabricius in 282, donating *praeda* to the treasury and refunding *tributum* to the people were clearly different activities.<sup>110</sup> Or, as argued here, it could mean

<sup>103</sup> Nicolet, op. cit. (n. 75), 159f. notes the double indemnity imposed in 215 (Liv. 23.31.1).

<sup>104</sup> Nicolet, op. cit. (n. 75), 166-7; Liv. 24.11.7-9.

<sup>105</sup> Liv. 26.35.1-3.

<sup>106</sup> Nicolet, op. cit. (n. 75), 169; Liv. 31.13.3-9.

<sup>107</sup> See n. 78 above and *CMURR* 52-74 for a holistic view of the Hannibalic War's effect on Roman and Italian coinage and finances.

<sup>108</sup> Liv. 10.46.7-8

<sup>109</sup> As in, e.g., Liv. 10.46.5 (quoted in nn. 82 and 93 above) and 10.46.14: *Aeris gravis tulit in aerarium trecenta octoginta milia...*

<sup>110</sup> Dion. 19.16.3: ... καὶ τὰς εἰσφορὰς τοῖς ἰδιώταις ἄς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον προεἰσήνεγκαν ἀπέδωκα, καὶ τετρακόσια τάλαντα μετὰ τὸν θρίαμβον εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον εἰσήνεγκα. (emphasis mine).

that Duilius actually shared some of the wealth with the citizens after the customary distributions to his own soldiers. The accumulation of evidence suggests very strongly that he probably gave at least some of the booty, or rather, money realized from the sale of booty (thus *praeda*, not *spolia*), to the people who paid the war-tax, as did Fabricius. Indeed, the language of the inscription indicates that the people, not the Aerarium, were the chief recipients of naval *praeda*, for which we now have a plausible context. It would also be very interesting to know what word actually followed *POPLOM*. Instead of Degrassi's *donavet*, it could have been something like *retribuit* which would also make good sense of the ablative *navaled praedad*, i.e., 'he repaid the people with naval booty'. More importantly, if he did in fact use part of his *praeda* to return the *tributum* to the people, the extraordinary honor voted by the people to him in return — the flute player and wax-torch bearer who, at public expense, followed him home from every banquet as if he were always triumphing — would stand in a new light. It could be seen not just as an expression of public enthusiasm for Duilius' landmark victory at sea, but as an indication of deep public gratitude for timely relief from a heavy fiscal burden.

### Duilius' Coinage

The next question is how and in what form was so much money distributed? Lines 13-16 of the inscription seem to imply that Duilius had an enormous supply of bronze on hand for distribution at his triumph. Much of it would likely have been converted to bronze coinage — since Romans used their unwieldy bronze currency almost exclusively in local transactions — perhaps from pre-existing stocks acquired in the sale of booty in Italy or around Rome, just as the silver coinage displayed in his triumph is explicitly stated to have come from the sale of *praeda*.<sup>111</sup> It is also possible that some of the requisite bronze coinage was obtained, at least in part, by melting down captured bronze rams, naval implements and the like seized from the Carthaginians, just as Sp. Carvilius had bronze Samnite armor rendered into bronze statues of Jupiter and himself.<sup>112</sup>

It is something of a guessing game, however, to determine how much each citizen might have received from Duilius, for there are many factors to consider. For instance, he could have exchanged the gold and silver for bronze coinage, yielding 1.2 million *asses* or more to distribute. Conversely, he had to hold back a considerable cash reserve to build his votive temple to Janus, to provide victims for various sacrifices, and for distribution to his soldiers and sailors, which according to recent precedents could range from 82 to 204 *asses* per man.<sup>113</sup> From the captured bronze he also had to reserve at least six smaller rams for his rostral column. In addition, he probably gave away some of the captured bronze armor — to display, use or sell — to officers and soldiers who had distinguished themselves in battle; he may even have sent some off to decorate the cities

<sup>111</sup> For the most recent discussion of the predominance of bronze coinage in Central Italy and Rome during the First Punic War, see Harl, *op. cit.* (n. 68), 28; cf. *CMURR* 14-6, 39-47.

<sup>112</sup> See n. 32 above.

<sup>113</sup> This is the range provided by recent precedents: Q. Fabius, *cos.* 295, gave *ex praeda* 82 *asses* and a cloak and a tunic (*aeris octogeni bini sagaque et tunicae*) to each of his men at his triumph (Liv. 10.30.10), while two years later Sp. Carvilius, *cos.* 293, gave *ex praeda* 102 *asses* per man, and 204 to centurions and cavalrymen (Liv. 10.46.15).

of the allies and *coloniae*, as did Papirius Cursor in 293.<sup>114</sup> In the end, one can only speculate. In any case, if Duilius indeed distributed cash presents to some or all of the Roman populace after having handed out the obligatory bonuses for his soldiers and sailors, he would have needed a very large amount of bronze coinage and a convenient format in which to distribute them, such as the *aes signatum*, a special, multiple-*as* bronze coinage which required smaller numbers to distribute larger cash values.<sup>115</sup>

The *aes signatum* was in fact Rome's largest single bronze denomination ever. Cast-bronze ingots bearing designs on both sides, their weight was roughly consistent with multiples of the *as*. Thus, an *aes signatum* of five-*asses*, the *quincussis*, would weigh in at 1350-1650 gm, while the much rarer *decussis* (10-*asses*) could weigh up to 3500 gm.<sup>116</sup> The earliest examples of *aes signatum* were issued between 300 and 290, and their production continued intermittently to the end of the First Punic War. As for the denomination's function in the Roman monetary system, Crawford informs us that:

*aes signatum* can hardly have been intended for storage in the treasury, for which its types in high relief make it wholly unsuitable; nor can it be *moneta privata*<sup>117</sup> or Greek,<sup>118</sup> since some of its types bear the legend ROMANOM;<sup>119</sup> nor can it be regarded as created with distinctive types to be dedicated to particular deities [in temples], since it is usually found in fragments [representing accurate subdivisions of the bar's value].<sup>120</sup> **The almost uniformly martial types suggest the hypothesis that *aes signatum* was created for the distribution of booty after a victory...**[and] in any case it is clear that *aes signatum*, once issued, was treated as bullion...<sup>121</sup>

Since this form of currency was apparently designed for the sole purpose of distributing booty and carried martial types, or motifs relating to a particular victory — such as the *aes signatum* issued in 275 after the defeat of Pyrrhus at Beneventum, depicting an

<sup>114</sup> Liv. 10.46.8.

<sup>115</sup> Pietilä-Castren, op. cit. (n. 4), 31-2 and n. 32, following Crawford (*RRC* 41, n. 5, quoted in text below, and n. 121 below), recognizes that Duilius may have given *aes signatum* to his soldiers as bonuses, but does not explore the issue of actual types that may have been issued, nor the possibility that citizens, too, may have received a cash distribution. She does suggest, however, that Duilius' gift to the people consisted of bits and pieces of the 'heterogeneous booty, rather than money or produce such as olive oil or wine'.

<sup>116</sup> C.H.V. Sutherland, *Roman Coins* (New York 1974) 28f. cites an example from ca. 260 BCE of 3500 gm.

<sup>117</sup> According to F. Gnechchi, 'I bronzi quadrilateri della repubblica e la moneta privata dei Romani', *RIN* (1900), 147-52, p. 147.

<sup>118</sup> A view held by T.L. Comparette, 'Aes Signatum', *AJN* (1918) 1-61, p. 1.

<sup>119</sup> Crawford cites L. Clerici, *Economia e Finanza dei Romani I* (Bologna 1943) 236 for the homogeneity of the types.

<sup>120</sup> So A.C. Deliperi, 'La funzione del "quadrilatero"', *Numismatica* (1943-45), 38-47, p. 38.

<sup>121</sup> *RRC* p. 41, n. 5 (emphasis mine); cf. *CMURR* 41: 'The bars may have served for the distribution of booty'. Crawford's hypothesis that the *aes signatum* was used as bullion is borne out by archaeological evidence: many Italian hoards of the early to mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE have consisted entirely of the heaviest bronze *asses* mixed with whole and subdivided ingots of *aes signatum*, the latter being cut down to fractions that equal (smaller) multiples of the *as* (see also M. Crawford, *RRCH* 43-60).

elephant on the obverse and a sow on the reverse<sup>122</sup> — it might be assumed that, along with the pre-existing coinage he already had on hand for distribution, Duilius would have issued *aes signatum* bearing designs relevant to his victory. Hoard evidence confirms that the first *aes signatum* with naval imagery can be dated (approximately) to the beginning of the First Punic War. One particularly illuminating hoard was found at La Bruna, Italy in 1890. It contained 8 complete bars of *aes signatum*, each bearing martial types; one fragment of a non-Roman bar; and 8 heavy (335 gm) *asses*, which had been phased out in the early 260s with the introduction of *asses* weighing 10 Roman ounces (270 gm).<sup>123</sup> The group of *aes signatum* yielded three types with naval symbolism, which likely would have been issued only *after* Rome finally became a legitimate maritime power with Duilius' victory at Mylae.<sup>124</sup> Since relative-dating evidence from other hoards indicates that the remaining pieces of the La Bruna hoard were issued during or after the Pyrrhic war, and all come from the earlier series of heavy bronze issues, the *aes signatum* carrying naval imagery must be considered the most recent.<sup>125</sup> Finally, since the chronological gap between the latest heavy *asses* and earlier *aes signatum* was probably not more than a few years, it seems likely that the *aes signatum* with marine imagery was issued at the *earliest* possible opportunity for Rome to claim mastery of the sea, ca. 260. Taken together, the apparent date and marine imagery of this *aes signatum* strongly suggest that Duilius himself had it issued to distribute at his triumph.<sup>126</sup>

A close examination of the apparently linked naval types reveals a sophisticated use of symbolism. The types depicted include:

- 1) Anchor/Tripod (fig. 4);<sup>127</sup>
- 2) Trident tied with fillet/Caduceus tied with fillet (fig. 5);<sup>128</sup>
- 3) Two hens feeding, two eight-rayed stars between/Two *rostra* and two dolphins (fig. 6).<sup>129</sup>

<sup>122</sup> *RRC* 132, no. 9, and 718, n. 1; B.K. Thurlow and I.G. Vecchi, *Italian Cast Coinage: Italian Aes Grave and Italian Aes Rude, Signatum and the Aes Grave of Sicily* (London 1979) 17; and Aelian, *NA* 1.38, who mentions the actual story of pigs frightening off the elephants of Pyrrhus. While this *aes signatum* type tells a story, it is not as innovative to my mind as the types first issued by C. Duilius, discussed next. Nor does it redound so much to the credit of the Roman commander who defeated Pyrrhus as it does to that of the pigs who frightened Pyrrhus' elephants.

<sup>123</sup> *RRCH* 46, hoard no. 16 (found with pieces of a pot and horse bones): 1 Eagle/Pegasus bar, 1 Bull/Bull bar, 1 (fragmentary) Sword/Scabbard bar, 3 Anchor/Tripod bars, 1 Trident/ Caduceus bar, 1 (fragmentary) Hens/Tridents (identified here as *rostra*) bar, and 8 heavy *asses*.

<sup>124</sup> Although see now *CMURR* 41, n. 20, wherein Crawford states, though without much conviction, that the 'bars with naval types are, I think, acceptable during the Pyrrhic War'. He gives no explanation for this new theory.

<sup>125</sup> *RRC* 41.

<sup>126</sup> Strangely, although the issuance of these pieces for booty and their symbolism's relation to Rome's newfound maritime status has been recognized, no one seems to have made the connection between the appearance of these issues and the huge amount of booty distributed in bronze by Duilius at his triumph. For instance, Vecchi, *op. cit.* (n. 122), 17 notes only that 'The Punic War caused Rome to develop a naval power and c. 260 naval types may have been introduced'.

<sup>127</sup> *RRC* 132, no. 10; cf. also *RRC* 716-8.

<sup>128</sup> *RRC* 133, no. 11; cf. also *RRC* 716-8.

The first two combinations of types seem relatively straightforward, their imagery readily apparent to and widely recognized by those familiar with symbolism of the Greco-Roman world.<sup>130</sup> In the first, the anchor represents ships and the sea, while the tripod calls to mind sacrifice to Apollo. The association of tripods with Apollo certainly reaches back far earlier than the 3<sup>rd</sup> century, but it is not necessarily exclusive to him (Hercules comes to mind). Nor is the connection here between anchor and tripod readily apparent, as the tripod in particular could represent many ideas, not the least of which is *pietas*, or perhaps some form of auspice-taking. It may be worth noting here that tripods appear on contemporary or near-contemporary coins of southern Italy and Sicily, where Duilius was operating, which may have inspired the type on the *aes signatum*.<sup>131</sup>

The second set of types seems to refer to Neptune and Mercury, the special fillets perhaps symbolizing the victory brought about by the interventions of these gods. In a more general sense, the designs might also be seen as referring to the consequent increase in safety for overseas communications and commercial shipping (hence the reference to Mercury, notable for his patronage of heralds and merchants). In terms of Mercury's putative connection to commercial shipping, it should be pointed out that the Ptolemaic 'Athlit' ram, of approximately mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century date, bears a caduceus design on its top, as a talisman invoking Hermes' protection (fig. 7).<sup>132</sup> The trident may have been copied directly from Syracusan bronze coins struck by Hieron II, assuming they were in circulation as early as 260; the similarity between the two types is fairly remarkable, in any case.<sup>133</sup>

The third and last combination of types is the most interesting because of the story that may be inferred from its sophisticated symbolism, some of which is wholly original. On the obverse, the two hens are seen to be feeding, and thus providing good auspices for a successful outcome in battle. Whether this relates to action on land or on sea (or both) is somewhat ambiguous. While it is demonstrable that auspices derived from the feeding of sacred chickens were taken by generals fighting on land, the anecdote about Publius Claudius, *cos.* 249, throwing chickens into the sea 'to drink' because they would *not* eat (and thus allow him to attack), confirms that naval commanders took their

<sup>129</sup> *RRC* 133, no. 12; cf. also *RRC* 716-8, but see below.

<sup>130</sup> It would require too much space to provide arguments and references for the widely accepted interpretations of these standard symbols; I therefore beg the reader's forbearance, and would ask that s/he refer to, e.g., the introductory chapters of *RRC* for fuller discussion. More recently, see T. Hölscher, *Monumenti statali e pubblico* (Rome 1994), ch. 3 (entire) for a discussion of the symbols used on Late Republican coins, with the implication that only in the 1<sup>st</sup> century did attributes like Mercury's caduceus come to be associated with *pax* and *felicitas* without reference to Mercury himself.

<sup>131</sup> The tripod appears on silver coins of Kroton down to the early 3<sup>rd</sup> century (*BMC* 1.83, 108 [299-281 BCE]; *SNG Copenhagen* 1820 [281-277 BCE]), and on struck bronze coins of Neapolis in the 260s (*BMC* 1.203 [300-260 BCE]) and of Rhegion from the 270s to the end of the century (*BMC* 1.75 [270-203 BCE]).

<sup>132</sup> On the Athlit ram, found off the coast of Israel, see most conveniently L. Casson, *Ships and Seafaring in Ancient Times* (London 1994) 74 and 90-1; also Murray and Petsas, *op. cit.* (n. 32), 99-113.

<sup>133</sup> *BMC* 2.603, AE 22 of Hieron II, 275-215 BCE, with head of Poseidon on the obverse and the ornamented head of a trident between two dolphins on the reverse.

auspices in the same way.<sup>134</sup> The two stars between the hens probably represent the Dioscuri, the twin gods traditionally known as patron gods of sailors. Interestingly, an explicit connection between the Dioscuri and naval warfare seems borne out by another relief on the ‘Athlit’ ram, this one depicting symbols of the Dioscuri: a peaked, wreathed cap (pileus?) with a fillet, above which is an eight-pointed star (figs. 7a and 7d). The Dioscuri are also remembered in Roman legend as having assisted the Roman *equites* to victory at the Battle of Lake Regillus in 496 BCE; indeed, from then on it appears that their tutelage was seen as extending to the equestrian class and its interests.<sup>135</sup> These interests surely included commercial shipping; thus the reference on the type 3 *aes signatum* could be seen as complementing the reference to Mercury on type 2, above. The meaning of the types might thus be linked and seen to imply that victory at sea brings safety and prosperity to commercial shipping.<sup>136</sup> The reverse symbols — dolphins and ‘tridents’ — are especially interesting, particularly because they have been (partially) misidentified for a long time. In the standard work on Roman Republican coins, Crawford describes the *rostra* as tridents, but they appear nothing like the trident on type 2 (above) with its thin tines, sharp angles, backswept prongs and long handle. Indeed, close examination of several examples of type 3 reveals that the three ‘prongs’ have interstitial flanges connecting them, as would a *rostrum*, or ram. Moreover, the central prong is shaped like a sword with a hilt, much like the one seen on the ‘Athlit’ ram (fig 7a), while the side prongs look like scimitars. Finally, there is no handle attached to the back end of these so-called tridents, just a knob that looks, again, like the knob at the back end of the central ‘sword’ on the ‘Athlit’ ram. It is clear, therefore, that what this particular issue depicts are dolphins and *rostra*, which can be taken to refer respectively to the sea (and Neptune?), and to the rams from captured ships (from which some of these bronze ingots were probably made). More generally, the types refer to battle and victory at sea. With the *rostra* symbols properly identified, we might infer a plausible narrative from the combined obverse and reverse types relating to the now-famous Battle of Mylae: the Dioscuri, tutelary gods of sailors and seafarers (and of Rome and her *equites*), bestowed an auspicious omen represented by happily feeding chickens, a harbinger of victory at sea over the Punic fleet, whose dread warships were consequently rendered into benign ‘naval booty’.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>134</sup> For auspices on land, see, e.g., Liv. 8.30.1-2 (325 BCE). For P. Claudius, *cos.* 249: Liv. *Per.* 19; Suet. *Tib.* 2.1; and Crawford, *RRC* 718 and n. 2, again calling the *rostra* ‘tridents’, and alluding only generally to the naval symbolism.

<sup>135</sup> This may be adduced from, e.g., Liv. 8.11.16, relating how when Campanian knights were given Roman citizenship for having refrained from the general Campanian revolt, a bronze tablet commemorating that fact was nailed up in the Temple of Castor in the Forum.

<sup>136</sup> The Dioscuri later became the standard reverse type of the *denarius* from 211 to ca. 120 BCE; they were typically portrayed riding on horses, often with an eight-rayed star above the head of each.

<sup>137</sup> Vecchi, *op. cit.* (n. 122), 17 avers that ‘chickens and stars are symbols of the Dioscuri and Etrusco-Roman augury with tridents or ships’ rostra with dolphins and [*sic*] symbols of naval protection’. It is notable that, while Vecchi thought the symbols commonly identified as tridents *might* represent rostra, he did not investigate or argue the point further; also that he interpreted the message of the coins as a generalized wish for protection at sea. Needless to say, he did not infer an actual connection to Duilius’ victory and a distribution of *aes*

It is arguable that all three *aes signatum* types were meant to have a wider meaning: each type combination includes one certainly maritime image and another, somewhat ambivalent image that could also relate to victories on land. Of course, none can doubt that Duilius intended to celebrate his achievements in both spheres of activity, since the capture of his colleague meant that his own auspices perforce extended to both *provinciae*, and the *elogium* itself emphasizes details of his capture of Segesta and Macella as well as those of his naval victory at Mylae. Given the overall milieu of competition for status through achievement and popular affirmation through the acquisition of *honores*, it certainly seems that Duilius would have desired to boast of both types of victories, all of which would point to a somewhat wider intention for, and interpretation of, his coin types. Nonetheless, just as with the monuments set up by or for him, the *dominant* message of the coins, especially given this first-ever appearance of naval symbolism on *aes signatum*, is aimed at highlighting Duilius' sea victory, and thus his own unique status as Rome's first-ever naval *triumphator*.<sup>138</sup> Indeed, these coins — and the associated rostral column — should be seen as harbingers of a new Roman ideology, one in which Rome is envisaged as mistress of what would become *mare nostrum*.

If this *aes signatum* was, as postulated, issued by Duilius, then not only was he the first to confer a gift on the Roman people from loot taken in a sea battle, but he was also capable of delivering that gift in a form that exhibits an impressively sophisticated

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*signatum* with these types at his triumph. It might also be noted that the inclusion of symbols referring to the Dioscuri, the *Tyndaridai*, could possibly date these coins to the naval victory at Tyndaris of A. Atilius Regulus, *cos.* 257, for which he celebrated a naval triumph (Polyb. 1.25.1-6; *Inscr. Ital.* 13.1: *Act. Tr.* 76f., 548). Since, however, the Dioscuri were already tutelary gods *par excellence* of sailors, etc., it seems a stretch to infer that such a specific occasion was called for before they would be honored on an *aes signatum*; indeed, they had already figured prominently in the *aes grave* coinage issued between 280 and 269 (for which see *RRC* 19/1, *aes grave* as depicting a Dioscurus/Apollo, 280-269 BCE; and *RRC* 18/5, *aes grave sextans*, Dioscurus/Dioscurus, 280-269 BCE). Nor should such a possibility preclude these pieces of *aes signatum* from being issued for Duilius in 260, as the hoard evidence seems to indicate.

<sup>138</sup> The rostral column in the Forum is the most obvious expression of this emphasis on Duilius' sea victory, as would be the second rostral column claimed by Servius (*ad Georg.* 3.29) to have been set up by Duilius himself (presumably *ex manubiis*) before the gates of the Circus Maximus — if its existence could be confirmed. Meanwhile, Pietilä-Castren, *op. cit.* (n. 4), 32-4 makes a case for Duilius' Temple of Janus in the Forum Holitorium as also advertising his sea victory, on the grounds that Janus' sphere of influence included 'inventions and cultural achievements' and that 'in the ancient legends of Rome's founding [Janus had] arrived in a ship' (p. 33). She does note that several scholars — Crawford, *RRC* 718, n. 7; L.A. Holland, *Janus and the Bridge* (Rome 1961) 220-1; J.-C. Richard, 'Pax, Concordia et la religion officielle de Janus à la fin de la République Romaine', *MEFR* 75 (1963) 303-86, pp. 305-36 — argue against any interpretation of the *aes grave* with the head of Janus and ship's front end as relating to Duilius' victory. Indeed, a number of factors preclude it from relating directly to his victory at Mylae in the way the *aes signatum* discussed here does: 1) Janus' legendary arrival by ship at Rome, not at Mylae; 2) the fact that the type, a generalized depiction of the front end of a ship, is copied from Greek types with the same image; and 3) the type was not even in use until 241 when Rome could claim 'undisputed mastery of the sea' (Vecchi, *op. cit.* [n. 122], 26).

command of symbolism. For these imposing ingots of valuable bronze commemorated and publicized his naval victory with imagery recalling: 1) the favor of the gods towards him; 2) the sea on which he was first to conquer; 3) perhaps also the re-establishment of safe shipping which benefited the wealthier classes of voters in Rome; and 4) the (very probable) source of some of the bronze ingots themselves. It is possible to imagine that later, whenever one of the recipients of such an ingot saw Duilius' column decorated with *rostra* and anchors, he would have been reminded of his generosity as well as his successes. In any case, the visual interplay of public monuments and private benefaction, both bearing symbolic testimonial of Duilius' *virtus*, was calculated to create a strong, positive impression on Roman minds, one that would yield tremendous political capital: in 259, mere months after his triumph, Duilius was elected to the prestigious office of censor for 258-7. It may also have been soon after his triumph and distribution of *praeda* that, in a generous act of reciprocity, the people bestowed upon him the perpetual honor of a flute player and wax-torch bearer to accompany him home from banquets, at public expense.<sup>139</sup>

### Aftermath

The last question which might be asked is this: if Duilius was so popular as to receive multiple honors for his achievement, why did he not return to the consulship to take the field once more against Carthage, as did some of his contemporaries, even Scipio Asina? Indeed, why does he not appear again at all except as a dictator for holding elections in 231, an office that can only have lasted a few days? Perhaps the answer lies in analogies from the later Republic. It was a dangerous game in the last century of the Republic to be a popular politician, especially one who not only was offered, but actually accepted extraordinary honors from the people, and then employed them. For instance, on the day C. Marius celebrated his African triumph, he convened the senate on the Capitol and entered their assembly wearing his triumphal regalia; while Plutarch makes much of his embarrassment at the senate's clear disapproval of this action, it is possible that the privilege was voted to him by the plebs, as his *elogium* seems to mention it in just that context.<sup>140</sup> Likewise, Pompey's appellation *Magnus* — self-assumed or given by Sulla — was actually confirmed by popular acclamation, perhaps later ratified by a special vote, in a *contio* held just after his triumph in 61; but only two scant years later *Magnus* was mocked in the theater when the audience made the actor Diphilus repeat the line *nostra miseria tu es magnus* ('to our misery you are great') because they delighted in the turn on Pompey's *cognomen*.<sup>141</sup> In a recent discussion, Corbeill argues in convincing

<sup>139</sup> This type of reciprocity, often spontaneous, is highlighted by a late 4<sup>th</sup>-century incident wherein M. Flavius, having made a distribution of meat to the people in thanks for their mercy towards him in a previous *iudicium populi*, was soon after elected tribune *in absentia*, though he had not even stood for the office (Liv. 8.22.2f.).

<sup>140</sup> On 1 Jan. 104: Liv. *Per.* 67; Plut. *Mar.* 12.5; for the privilege, see ILS 59, *Elogium C. Marii: Veste triumphali calceis patriciis*. This fragment is usually amended to continue [*in senatum venit*] to agree with the sources; nevertheless, the missing portion may have mentioned the source of this special honor (cf. *Inscr. Ital.* 13.3.13 and n. 40 above).

<sup>141</sup> Pompey 'was unanimously hailed *Magnus*' in a *contio* held just after his triumph (Liv. *Per.* 103). Dio (37.21.3) and Appian (*Mith.* 118) indicate the title was now *officially bestowed*:



detail that Pompey's self-presentation through special clothing and hair styles to indicate his unique status had the inadvertent result of isolating him from the very group whose acceptance and acknowledgment he craved most.<sup>142</sup> Finally, it is very well known that among the many causes of jealousy and resentment of Caesar that resulted in the plot against his life was his bland acceptance of many flagrantly outlandish, hyper-extravagant honors, honors that made clear his willingness to dominate, not compete with, men who should have been his equals in opportunity, if not in achievement.

The point of these later examples is not to say that Duilius was like 1<sup>st</sup>-century dynasts, but simply to exemplify the potential for politically damaging jealousies that could arise when someone became too outstanding or popular vis-à-vis his peers. This would probably have been especially true in Duilius' era: when consensus and restraint were clearly as important as the competition for status and *honores*, his special honor may have rankled his peers — as reflected, perhaps, in the negative tone of some reports about his special privilege<sup>143</sup> — and resulted in a political blockade against further opportunities. Although it is pure speculation, one might think that such a blockade was master-minded by Scipio Asina, Duilius' erstwhile, ex-P.O.W. co-consul who managed to iterate the consulship while Duilius did not. But it is not implausible, especially if Polybius' account reflects the Scipionic take on events, including the implication that, before his capture, Scipio Asina had ordered the *corvi* to be attached to the ships, something for which Duilius received all the credit *and* the glory.<sup>144</sup> On the other hand, if the principle of Occam's razor is brought into play, it may simply be that Duilius calculated his chances of enhancing or diminishing his record of achievement through further consulships: having decided that there was no way to improve on having been first to accomplish so many things so brilliantly, including winning the right to triumph daily and a subsequent censorship, he simply withdrew from the competition.

## Conclusion

In the foregoing discussion, I have presented a linked series of hypotheses, each one suggested in its turn by bits of evidence relating directly to Duilius, and contextualized by near-contemporary precedents wherever possible, or relevant-seeming analogues from slightly later periods. Taken together, these hypotheses support a plausible scenario in which the *elogium* on Duilius' rostral column may be read not only as an account of a cunning and audacious commander whose pioneering efforts in naval warfare destroyed the myth of Carthaginian supremacy at sea, but also as an encomium on a generous benefactor to Rome's citizenry. The inscription's redactor has successfully delineated and asserted Duilius' preeminence among his peers, as well as his position as patron to the Roman people, already symbolized by the imagery and position of the column that was set up by order of the senate and people near the Comitium and Rostra. The cumulative evidence also suggests that the inscription's reference to Duilius' distribution of 'naval

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his title was likely conferred permanently by plebiscite (cf. Zonar. 7.21). For the incident with Diphilus, see Cic. *Att.* 2.15.3, 59 BCE.

<sup>142</sup> A. Corbeill, *Controlling Roman Laughter* (Princeton 1996) 176-83.

<sup>143</sup> Cf. n. 20 above.

<sup>144</sup> Cf. n. 13 above.

booty' to the populace was perhaps meant quite literally, as he seems to have given away, among other things, actual chunks of captured ships converted into coinage. By turning a mundane medium of exchange into a vehicle of propaganda through which his exploits and generosity could be 'broadcast', Duilius was able to reemphasize his new status. He could do this because the coins constituted a special issue under his authority, and he was therefore not subject to the constraints, real or implied, that kept Rome's annual moneyers from issuing coins with personally significant types for another 125 years. Finally, he reaped immediate political and personal rewards for these efforts, in the form of a prestigious censorship and a perpetual personal honor. A potential downside to his attested employment of this latter honor is that it may have tended to isolate him from his peers and hinder any attempts he might have made to iterate the consulship.

Duilius has long been acknowledged as the first Roman to win a sea-battle, the first to be honored with a rostral column, and the first to present a gift derived from naval booty to the Roman people. Indeed, he came to be seen *primarily* as the man who set Rome on the road to maritime expansion and, ultimately, domination of the Mediterranean world. He was remembered also as the first (if not only) man to have a flute-player and wax-torch bearer accompany him home from feasts, as if he were triumphing all the time. Now, we might add to Duilius' list of firsts. He was the first politician to utilize Roman 'coinage' to its fullest extent, to broadcast a new ideology of Rome's (hoped-for) naval greatness and dominance of the Mediterranean; he was also, it seems, the first Roman politician to use coinage as a medium for self-promotion, a century and a quarter before anyone would do it again.

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Figure 1: *Denarius* of Octavian, 29-27 BCE.



Figure 2: Modern Rostral Column



Figure 3: *Elogium C. Duilii.*



Figure 4: *Aes Signatum* 1, Anchor/Tripod.

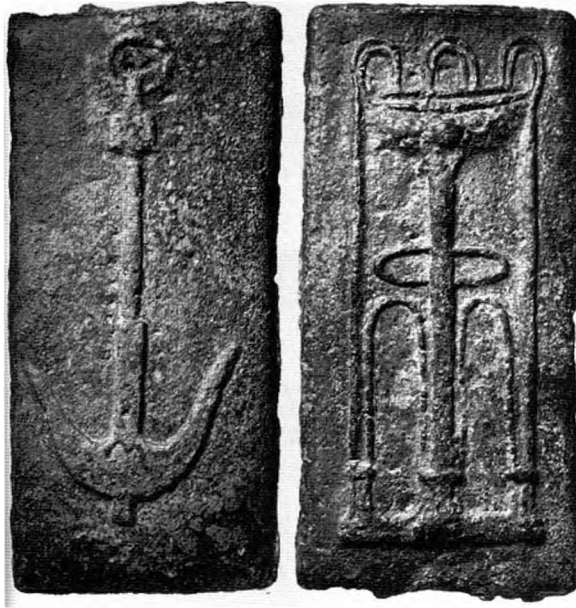


Figure 5: *Aes Signatum* 2, Trident/Caduceus.



Figure 6a: *Aes Signatum* 3, Feeding Hens & Stars/Rostra & Dolphins.

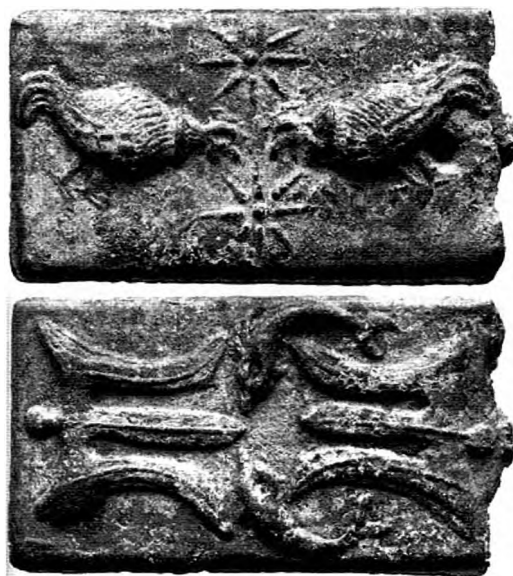


Figure 6b: *Aes Signatum* 3, Example 2: Rostra & Dolphins.



**Illustration 7(a-b): The Athlit ram.**

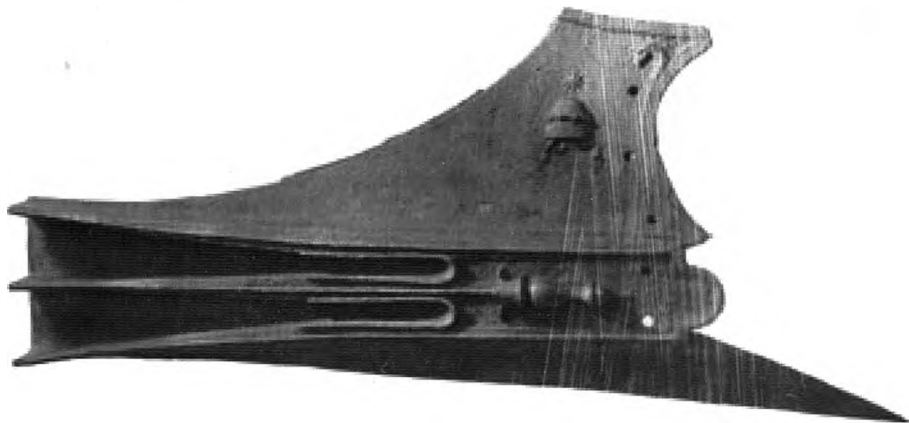


Figure 7(c-d): The Athlit ram.

